

Peace Education for Violence Prevention in Fragile African Societies

WHAT'S GOING TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE?



Sylvester B. Maphosa and Alphonse Keasley (eds)

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The initial impetus, for which we are most grateful, is our preceding book *Building Peace from Within: An Examination of Peace-building and Transition in Africa*, which has held its promise and helpfulness to practitioners and continues to be well received in scholarly and policy circles.

We are thankful to the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) programme of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), which has been instrumental at every stage of the development of this volume. The support and encouragement are greatly appreciated – including the peace education colloquy of November 2013 in Pretoria, the peace education panel at the Africa Renaissance conference of May 2014, and hosting the research Fellow Alphonse Keasley, from the University of Colorado Boulder, for this project. We are indebted to HSRC-AISA publications staff, who helped us transform this work from mere manuscript pages typed on our computers. Many thanks for numerous administrative functions are extended to all HSRC-AISA staff, including Simamkele Bokolo, Mamelo Theledi and Lizzy Motaung.

We would also like to acknowledge the support of the Fulbright Program: Sylvester Maphosa, Chief Research Specialist at HSRC-AISA and project leader, was in residence (Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence) at the University of Colorado Boulder (CU-B) during part of writing this work. Part of his residency involved working on this compilation. The Fulbright Program also supported this undertaking through the Fulbright Specialist Award on behalf of the HSRC-AISA to Alphonse Keasley, project collaborator, specifically for this project.

Preface

Building Peace from Within: An Examination of Peace-building and Transition in Africa precedes the volume that you are about to peruse. It was a breakthrough volume for its editors, Drs Sylvester B. Maphosa, Laura DeLuca and Alphonse Keasley, because it solidified our commitment to a greater contemporary understanding of the *Ubuntu* value system. *Peace from Within* also served as the impetus for this current volume and for future volumes.

Not surprisingly, as we were finalising *Peace from Within*, the question ‘What’s next?’ surfaced. Though born a generation apart in very different circumstances and geographic locations – Maphosa in Zimbabwe and Keasley in the United States – we learned of each other’s deep commitment to *Ubuntu*: ‘I am because we are,’ and ‘humanity toward others.’ While not explicitly articulated in any of this book’s chapters, it is this concept that propelled us to undertake this audacious volume, in which we ask the bold question, ‘*What’s going to make a difference in contemporary peace education in Africa?*’ Indeed, as editors, like many scholar-practitioners, we are driven by asking big questions. Nevertheless, our audacity to undertake this effort entered through our presumption that we might identify the seminal elements for the ideal peace education pedagogy. In some sense, we believe that if *Ubuntu* is to be actualised in contemporary times, it is essential that we persist in developing our understanding and seek time-commensurate approaches to living out our ‘humanity toward others.’

As the translation of *Ubuntu* clearly communicates, a community of people is integral to the concept. For us, situating peace education in formal and informal learning environments is another essential component for addressing our question, ‘*What’s going to make a difference in peace education in fragile African contexts?*’ We contend that people-to-people interactions are the bedrock of substantive, long-lasting peacebuilding intelligence. Moreover, we hold that such peacebuilding intelligence must become one of the values that young Africans – indeed all youth – learn and embrace early in life. The irrefutable fact is that learning is an enduring process through every stage of our lives, and, thus, peace education is essential for humankind’s long-term best interest!

The interactions during the Peace Education Colloquium in November 2013 signalled that the book’s concept was feasible and worthy of pursuit. The contributors brought tremendous richness to each other as they

suggested changes to each scholar for achieving the goal of the volume. As editors, we then had to only reiterate our expectations that the chapters needed to lend themselves to both theory-making and advanced peace education practices. Within our editorial responses to drafts of chapters, we were unrelenting in our drive for theory because we genuinely desire to push the envelope in promoting peace-building intelligence in every sector in Africa. We fully expect each contributor's ideas and insights to generate additional expansive concepts.

Above all, as editors we have learned and grown. And, given that there is no silver bullet, this volume is therefore not a seminal volume, but rather the beginning of a much longer process of working together to engender structural peace.

The Editors

Editors' biographies

■ **Sylvester B. Maphosa, PhD**, is the Chief Research Specialist in Governance and Security at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria, South Africa. He holds a PhD in Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies and an MA in Peace and Governance. Maphosa has extensive professional and academic experience regarding conflict resolution and community-based peacebuilding. He has held teaching and research positions on these subjects in the United States, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. He is the author and editor of numerous scholarly articles and books, including *Building Peace from Within: An Examination of Community-based Peacebuilding and Transitions in Africa*. Maphosa is a Fulbright S-I-R Fellow Alumni. SMaphosa@hsrc.ac.za

■ **Alphonse Keasley, PhD**, has had a career spent almost exclusively as an American higher education professional since the age of 22, when he accepted his first faculty position at Oklahoma State University. Since 1974, Keasley has enjoyed an illustrious professional life at the University of Colorado Boulder (CU-B), as a doctoral student and graduate, faculty member, mid-level manager, and currently as Assistant Vice Chancellor. He introduced several innovative classes in the CU-B Honors Program, Leadership Certificate Program, the McNair Program (regarding undergraduate research) and the CU-B Study Abroad Program. Through the Study Abroad Program, he has brought CU-B students to South Africa for Global Seminars at the University of Cape Town and research projects at the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA). Keasley is a Fulbright Specialist and an AISA Research Fellow Alumni. His academic reach is also evident in more than fifty educational DVDs produced by Centre Communication and Ambrose Digital. Alphonse.keasley@colorado.edu

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■ **Sidonia Angom, PhD**, is a social worker and a researcher with a keen academic and practical interest in research issues, especially those that concern children, women, HIV/AIDS, conflict, arms trafficking, disarmament, peace-making and peacebuilding, with a focus on Africa. She has 15 years of experience in research and 10 years of experience in teaching and administration at different universities in Uganda. Currently, she is acting Head of Department of Sociology and Social Administration at Kyambogo University, and is responsible for: the organisation and development of the department; promoting knowledge through contribution of original work, teaching, examining and the provision of academic leadership and guidance to staff and students; initiating and reviewing the departmental curricula from time to time and making recommendations to the Faculty/School/Institute Board; preparing departmental annual reports; and the day-to-day running of other activities in the department. She is also a board member of Action for Development (ACFODE), an advocacy and lobby NGO that focuses on the empowerment of women.

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■ **Boniface Cuthbert Bwanyire**, Associate Professor, School of Diplomacy and International Relations (SDIR), Ethiopian Civil Service University (ECSU), Addis Ababa, has three decades of professional experience in education, training and capacity building. Current focus areas include: theories and practices of diplomacy and international relations; governance, democracy and development; and special research methods in diplomacy,

international relations and governance. He is the immediate past education and professional development coordinator of the Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP), a continental peace and security capacity-building programme of the African Union and Addis Ababa University's Institute for Peace and Security Studies. Earlier, Bwanyire was programme manager of the Urban Management Master's programme, a World Bank-sponsored urban management capacity-building programme at ECSU. He has lectured in urban governance and management, urban social development and poverty alleviation, local economic and social development, gender and sustainable development, philosophy and history of education. He is passionate about peace and security education in Africa.

■ **Fanie du Toit, PhD**, is the Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), an organisation that was formed in the wake of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. His work focuses on reconciliation and transitional justice processes internationally. Previously, he headed the Education for Reconciliation programme that was co-recipient of UNESCO's International Prize for Peace Education in 2008 for its work in stimulating post-apartheid history education. He has published various edited volumes, journal articles, shorter essays and book chapters and produces regular opinion pieces. In 1995, he completed a doctoral degree in Philosophy of Religion at Oxford University; in 2005 he completed a master's degree in Justice and Transformation at the University of Cape Town (UCT). He was appointed honorary professor to UCT's Department of Political Studies in 2014. Previously, he served as international adviser to the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations. He is also a member of the Advisory Board of the Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution.

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■ **Nirmala Devi Gopal** is a senior lecturer and professor in the Criminology and Forensic Science Cluster in the School of Applied Human Sciences, UKZN. She has worked with children and youth for a period spanning 26 years. One of her key research agendas is school violence, which she has conducted in a historically coloured working class township. She has a keen interest in matters of social justice and tries, through her school violence research, to find ways to promote peace and social justice in schools and the community.

■ **Magnus Haavelsrud, PhD**, is professor emeritus at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology and Distinguished Fellow of the South African Research Chair in Development Education, Unisa. His work deals with a critique of the reproductive role of education and the possibilities for transcendence of this reproduction in light of the traditions of educational sociology and peace research. He took part in the creation of the Peace Education Commission of the International Peace Research Association, and served as its second Executive Secretary from 1975 to 1979. He worked at the School Program of the Institute for World Order in New York and served as the Carl-von-Ossietzky Guest Professor of the German Council for Peace and Conflict Research. He has been a member of Transcend International since 1993, the editorial board of the Journal of Peace Education since 2004 and Global Advisory Group of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies since 2008. He has been a Patron of the International Centre of Nonviolence Australia since 2013. For writings, see www.cristin.no/english/.

■ **Crispin Hemson** is Director at the International Centre of Nonviolence, a research centre of Durban University of Technology (DUT). His background has been in education, including primary, tertiary and adult education, and his major research areas are currently teaching, non-violence, diversity and justice. Formerly head of the School of Education at UKZN, he is now an honorary senior lecturer at the School. His work at DUT involves the development of innovative undergraduate courses that foreground social issues and the organisation of a non-formal leadership programme based on strong ethical values. He is also an active environmentalist, chairs the Durban branch of the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) and plays a leading role in the conservation of a nature reserve in central Durban.

■ **Tony Karbo, PhD**, is Director, Karamoja Cluster Project (KCP), Associate Professor and former Managing Editor of the *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal* at the UN-mandated University for Peace (UPEACE). He is a former senior lecturer at the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance (IPLG) at Africa University in Zimbabwe. Karbo has worked extensively in Africa with numerous organisations working in conflict zones, conducting and facilitating training in conflict resolution and peace-building, and monitoring and evaluating election processes and programmes. Prior to joining IPLG, he served as the Eastern and Southern Africa representative for the Institute of Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD), a peace-building organisation based in Washington, D.C. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* and an Associate Director and Trainer of the South-North Center for Peacebuilding and Development. Karbo holds an MA and PhD from the School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, Virginia, USA.

■ **Beverly Kingston, PhD**, is the Director of the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence (CSPV) at University of Colorado Boulder. Her research and professional interests focus on bridging the gap between research and practice, to create and sustain nurturing social and physical environments that support healthy child and youth development, from cradle to career. This involves working in partnership with communities to design, implement, and evaluate evidence-based, comprehensive approaches to prevent violence and other problem behaviour and to promote positive youth development. Prior to serving as CSPV director, she was the founding director of the Adams County Youth Initiative, a county-wide collaborative project aimed at decreasing delinquency and substance use and increasing high school graduation rates. In this role, Kingston oversaw a 5-year, US\$8.4 million Safe Schools/Healthy Students federal grant, serving children, youth and families in Adams County, Colorado.

■ **Phindile Lukhele-Olorunju, PhD**, is Professor and former Acting Head of Section, AISA, at the HSRC, an African Scientific Institute (ASI) Fellow and an internationally respected scientist and educator. She has worked as a researcher in agricultural research institutions and lectured at three renowned universities in Swaziland, Nigeria and South Africa. Other experience includes international consulting and management of international agricultural projects, collaborative research projects with Consultative Group

for International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) and University of Georgia (USA). Lukhele-Olorunju managed three research institutions, as Group Executive, at the Agricultural Research Council of South Africa from 2002 to 2008. In 2009, she joined the University of Venda, South Africa, as Director of Research and Innovation. In 2010, she moved to AISA as Director of Research, and later Interim CEO of AISA from 1 September 2012 to 31 March 2014.

■ **Pamela Machakanja, PhD**, is Associate Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies and Director of IPLG at Africa University in Zimbabwe. She holds: a PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies and an MA in Peace and Conflict Resolution from the University of Bradford in the United Kingdom; a master's degree in Educational Psychology; and a bachelor of education degree from the University of Zimbabwe. Her research interests are in peace and conflict analysis, peace and security, peace-building, transitional justice, memory work, leadership development, gender and development.

■ **Martha Mutisi, PhD**, is an academic-practitioner with interests in issues at the critical intersection between peace, security and development. A recipient of the Fulbright Scholarship and Harry Garry Frank Guggenheim Fellowship, Mutisi is a lecturer in Peace, Conflict and Security Studies in IPLG at Africa University. She is also the Coordinator of Executive Development Programs in IPLG, a role which includes designing short-term and parallel executive courses for non-mainstream participants. Her research, policy and programming interests also focus on peace processes, peace agreements, mediation and negotiation, elections, governance and democratisation. Mutisi has experience in leadership development, human development, group process facilitation and community empowerment within multi-cultural and social transformation contexts. She is also a certified trainer and facilitator.

■ **Lynn Norton** is a PhD student in health promotion at UKZN. The focus of her research for her master's thesis was children's fears and anxieties in South African communities; her current research focuses on creating critical voice and position through authoring life stories in education. She has worked in both education and community law and is currently a research

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Introduction

Peace Education

Sylvester Maphosa and Alphonse Keasley

Values are the most fundamental determinants of behaviour. The only barrier that can be built against the evil of the human heart is the development of values from early childhood, nurtured and reinforced until adulthood that are profoundly respectful of all life, animal and human, and horrified by suffering.

Like grace, values can redeem human nature.

Professor Victor Nell, 1996¹

The primordial role of education has long been recognised in building peaceful relationships.² Education as peacebuilding ‘... has been closely connected with development of civilisations and ... always been viewed as a way of bringing better life into existence; ... [t]he evolution of the society depends upon it. This is as true today as it has ever been ...’,³ especially for Africa’s human security challenges and in the context of Agenda 2063. The African Union (AU) Commission Chairperson, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, called on all Africans and the diaspora, to galvanise efforts and contribute to Agenda 2063, so as to turn the region into an ‘integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena’.⁴ She recognised that as the continent makes the journey of the next 50 years, the need to promote education, health, skills and creativity, economic, social and cultural development will be indispensable in preventing future violence and human rights abuse.⁵ Well educated ... [African children and adults] ... in the next 50 years will be the biggest asset that Africa will have.⁶

Agenda 2063 is a policy development initiative of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the AU, led by the AU Commission, working closely with the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) Coordinating Agency (NPCA), and supported by the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Adopted in 2014, Agenda 2063 represents a collective effort and an opportunity for Africa to regain the power to determine its own destiny; it is underpinned by the AU vision to build ‘... an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, an Africa driven and managed by its own citizens and

representing a dynamic force in the international arena'. It is a call for action and a strategic framework and roadmap to achieve continental developmental goals, including:

- A prosperous Africa, based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
- An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideal of pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance;
- An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
- A peaceful and secure Africa;
- An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics;
- An Africa where development is people-driven, unleashing the potential of women and youth;
- Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner.

(See the African Union, 2015. Agenda 2063. www.agenda2063.au.int)

Peace education is instruction that promotes cultural peace. It is transformative. It cultivates the knowledge base, skills, attitudes and values that are able to transform people's mindsets, attitudes, and behaviours that feed, justify and legitimise cultural violence. Wherever there is violence, there is unresolved conflict. Unresolved conflict means that there is incompatibility of goals that has not been resolved, superseded, transformed and transcended to leverage peacebuilding writ large. Typically, *peacebuilding writ large* embodies a multi-faceted, multi-dimensional approach to human security, which engenders social resilience, inclusion and cohesion through focused, localised practical activities that exercise conflict transformation for: long-term relationships of community members and their immediate surroundings; conflict prevention; conflict management; conflict settlement; and conflict resolution.⁷

In the preceding publication, titled *Building Peace from Within: An Examination of Community-based Peacebuilding and Transitions in Africa*, we acknowledged that building cultural peace is an arduous, reiterative and marathon-like progression.⁸ We concluded the following:

- a. Reconciliation needs to be accompanied by 'development' to be meaningful and for peace to last. Long-term investment in capacity building and development is an asset for durable peace.
- b. *Ubuntu*-value education is critical to inspire the trust, shared values, norms, social cohesion, positive identity and reciprocal support required to heal violently divided societies.
- c. Acknowledging our violent past and the roles we played as different actors under different circumstances is a major step toward reconciliation and building peaceful relationships.
- d. Fostering an enabling space for inclusive peacebuilding and socio-economic processes is priceless in empowering and mitigating marginalised community members, including women, children, former rebels, victims of violence, and the 'others', who hold different political opinions and who assemble away from the ruling regime of a particular time.
- e. In the world of states, where life and death, freedom, justice and opportunities are not manna, but the products of political power, those who rule and are voted into public office must lead with responsibility and empathy for citizens. They have a duty to safeguard the human security of all citizenry and the larger international community.
- f. Investing energy in the 'electoralist, institutionalist and proceduralist' theatres of elections that ignore present causalities of conflict on the ground is not enough for positive social change: it should be accompanied by thoughtful and determined presence to confront and eliminate the root causes of violence.

Thus, in sequel, and enthused by our profound and unencumbered individual and collective wills to remain watchful for creating peace from within our beings and world society, the current consideration of education and human security is truly priceless and timely for the continent to mobilise towards achieving Agenda 2063. Yet, not all education in any form will necessarily play a peacebuilding function. Clearly, then, education needs to adopt a 'peace education' or 'education for peace' framework, if it is going to play a role in effective transformation of conflict and build enduring cultural peace.

PEACE EDUCATION

The concept of peace education has undergone theoretical examination from various scholarly perspectives, focusing on the transformation of

deep-rooted social conflicts into peaceful ones. Notionally, it represents indispensable formal and informal enlightening contexts that nurture the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values in population groups that lead to individual and/or collective change. Peace does not only mean the absence of violence (negative peace). It also involves the presence of social, economic and political justice (positive peace). Injustices that are at the root of many conflicts – such as poverty, discrimination, dehumanisation and unequal access to opportunities – represent structural violence. To prevent violence from breeding, active mobilisation, education and training in non-violence and conflict transformation are necessary to transcend injustices and structures of violence. Indeed, as peace educator Betty Reardon maintains:

The general purpose of peace education ... is to promote the development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it.⁹

These concepts of global consciousness and the transformational imperative are common to a number of different theories of peace education, including those of: Bar-Tal, 2002; Burns and Aspeslagh, 1983; Haavelsrud, 1983; and Heywood, 1986.¹⁰

According to UNICEF, peace education is the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed: to bring about behaviour change that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intra-personal, interpersonal, inter-group, national or international level.¹¹ Peace education therefore has a place in all societies, not only in countries undergoing armed conflict or emergencies. It is an integral part of education at all times and in all cultures, and every culture regards peace as a noble ideal to be attained. Because lasting behaviour change in children and adults only occurs over time, effective peace education is necessarily a long-term process, not a short-term intervention. Moreover, while often taught at schools and other learning environments, peace education should ideally involve the entire community. Lindel Nelson asserts that the process of building peaceful relationships and a culture of peace in violently divided societies necessitates developing peaceful people.¹²

The United Nations Declaration on a Culture of Peace (Article 1 of UN A/RES/53/243) states that a culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions, modes of behaviour and ways of life that inspire:

- Respect for life and all human rights;
- Rejection of violence and the promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation;
- Commitment to peaceful settlement of conflict;
- Commitment to meet the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations;
- Respect and the promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women and men;
- Respect for and the promotion of the right of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information; and
- Devotion to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations, which is fostered by an enabling national and international environment conducive to peace.

Reardon views peace education as an intensely active and dynamic process that is both negative (the absence of direct and structural violence) and positive (building a culture of peace).¹³ She asserts that peace education is: the transmission of knowledge about requirements of, the obstacles to and possibilities for achieving and maintaining peace; training in skills for interpreting the knowledge; and the development of reflective and participatory capacity for applying the knowledge to overcoming problems and achieving possibilities.¹⁴ Bretherton, Weston, and Zbar concur with this view and maintain that peace education is the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour change that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence - both overt and structural - to resolve conflict peacefully, and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intra-personal, interpersonal, inter-group, national or international level.¹⁵

Laing views peace education as an attempt to respond to problems of conflict and violence, on scales ranging from the global and national to the local and personal, and to explore ways of creating more just and sustainable futures.¹⁶ For Fran Schmidt and Alice Friedman, peace education is a holistic process that comprises the physical, emotional, intellectual and social growth of children within a framework deeply rooted in traditional human values of love, compassion, trust, fairness and cooperation for human welfare.¹⁷ They further assert that it is about skills building to empower children [and adults] to be creative and adopt non-destructive ways to settle conflict and to live in harmony with themselves, others and their world.¹⁸

Ian Harris¹⁹ and John Synott²⁰ offer one of the many inclusive formulations of peace education, describing it as ‘teaching encounters’ that draw out from people the goal to nurture:

- i. their desire for peace;
- ii. non-violent alternatives for managing conflict; and
- iii. skills for critical analysis of the structural arrangements that produce and legitimate injustice and inequality.

Johan Galtung offers a discussion on peace education, including notions of direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence, as well as negative peace and positive peace. If we are to facilitate enduring peaceful relationships, peace education should be the core to eliminate all forms of violence and foster cultural peace.²¹

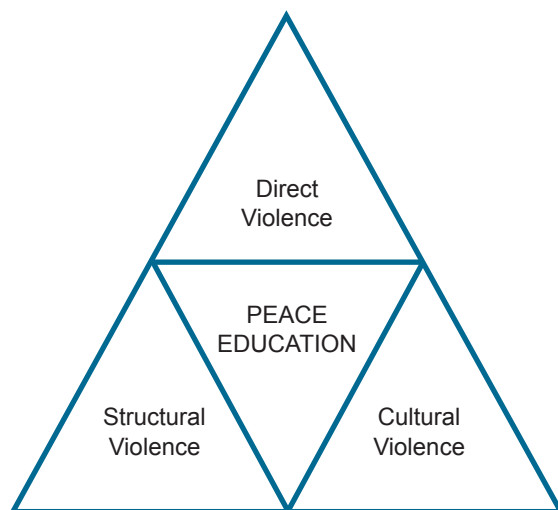


Figure 1.1: Peace education and violence

Galtung stresses that for peace education to be effective, it is critical that form (methodology) takes priority over content (curriculum). This is very important, as the ability of the content to initiate desired change is, to a large extent, related to the methodology of peace education practice. A good demonstration of this assertion is the land reform process in Zimbabwe. While it was indeed noble to redistribute land as a way of social justice to correct unjust colonial legacy, the methodology to implement this structural dimension of peace education caused unintended outcomes of chaos and

violence through the displacement of large populations, under-cultivation of farm land and food insecurity.

Despite the generic consensus that activities of peace education/education for peace involve conflict management, communication, recognition of diversity, self-esteem and environmental awareness, Haavelsrud asserts that the content of peace education should not be in any way given eternally or universally, because it has to be related to peace problems at any given time and place.²² Accordingly, Harris provides an outline of peace education in Japan, Northern Ireland, the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK),²³ while Bar-Tal explores Australia, Japan, South America and the US. Reflecting on the differences between models of peace in these contexts, in terms of ideology, objectives, emphasis, curricula, content and practices, Bar-Tal concludes that peace education is a mirror of the political-social-economic agenda for a given society.²⁴

At all levels, therefore, the primary purpose of peace education is to change attitudes and transform behaviour. However, the specifics of content vary significantly. Carlson-Paige and Levin observe that, at pre-school level, peace education usually deals with small-scale content, focused on personal and interpersonal issues appropriate for an egocentric phase of development.²⁵ In addition, Wichert identifies short-term aims to decrease the level of children's aggressive conduct and increase altruistic manners.²⁶ For older children too, Nevo and Brem found the goal of peace education to be a decrease in levels of aggressive behaviour.²⁷ At the tertiary level, Harris argues that peace education programmes may focus on the personal to interpersonal concerns with orientation on inter-group and global issues.²⁸ Harris concludes that while peace education can modify attitudes, making the world more peaceful demands behaviour transformation.²⁹

PEACE EDUCATION AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

Conflict transformation includes the processes, action and approaches that seek to constructively address conflict, dealing with the attitudes and behaviours of the parties as well as the contradictions (i.e. the root causes and underlying structures and dynamics) of the conflict. Conflict transformation is a process that involves a series of events and approaches, rather than a single act, and can apply at the *micro, meso and macro* levels, at the *intra and inter* levels, and at the *personal, group, community, social, cultural, national and state* levels. For it to be sustainable and effective, it must

address all the levels and manifestations of the conflict, including the actual causes that feed the conflict.

Conflict transformation, as a process, leads to the development of positive constructive outcomes, helping parties to the conflict to move forward and beyond, to transcend the conflict, and to ensure that the goals of all parties are respected and the basic needs and rights of all parties to the conflict are upheld. There is no single approach to conflict transformation. Notionally, effective conflict transformation approaches and methodologies should be:

- Meaningful to the participants involved in and affected by the conflict, and not simply imported from outside the community or imposed from above;
- Practical, providing effective tools and resources for people to be directly and actively engaged in working to address the conflict constructively;
- Participatory, involving people as the participants, actors, decision makers, guides and implementers in the actual process of transforming their conflict;
- Rooted in the traditions, culture and people of the community and addressing the real needs of the people, as identified by the people themselves;
- Integrated, comprehensive and holistic, effectively addressing all of the issues and aspects of the conflict, with different aspects and stages complementing, reinforcing and supporting each other, and avoiding the pitfalls of fragmented, competing and contradictory processes;
- Sustainable, not relying or dependent upon outside support and outside-driven processes and interference; and
- Inspiring, providing people with confidence and hope in their ability and the ability of the process to overcome and transcend the conflict, to transform it constructively, and to create new opportunities and possibilities out of the conflict.

Comprehensive peace education will therefore not only involve the development of curricula for learners but also training and capacity building for teachers [for conflict transformation capabilities] to contribute to the development and ownership of running the activities.³⁰ Accordingly, peace education should pervade all aspects of the school and community life, with implications for learners, teachers, family, society and policies. Hutchinson maintains that the teaching methods, methods of discipline, decision-making processes in the learning-teaching environment, and all other aspects of

the school and/or community, are as much a part of educating for peace as the curriculum itself.⁵¹

In formal settings of schools and universities, there are thus two approaches to the use of peace education curriculum material, viz.: (i) *the autonomist approach*, implemented as a discreet curriculum; and (ii) *the integrationist approach*, integrated throughout existing curricula. In informal settings, peace education is a part of everyday life processes. Peace education can also be facilitated via community structures and publicity campaigns, mass media (radio, TV, Facebook, billboards, newspapers and sporting events, including 'no to racism' insignias at football and soccer matches) and faith-based organisations.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

Peacebuilding is the task of every human being and the challenge of the human family. To be true to the promise of exploring practice (theory-to-practice-to-theory), this volume presents the compelling need to build and consolidate peaceful communities and greater knowledge production for the ever-maturing African continent. The collection makes an invaluable contribution to the vision and determination to advance and transform the capacities of African communities to 'recognise, confront, and transform the culture of violence.'⁵²

Of course, pursuing this ambitious endeavour necessitated the collective wisdom of others. Having set ourselves a very high bar, identifying individuals who would be willing to participate in this challenging undertaking became our next task. Fortunately, a group of scholar-practitioners was available and eager to join our effort. As with *Peace From Within*, it was important that we included contributors from Africa and parts of the diaspora, including the University of Colorado Boulder, Alphonse's home institution and Sylvester's Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence location. In addition, we sought contributors who were interested in expanding the boundaries of peace education scholarship and, particularly, practice. Unquestionably, we wanted individuals who could engage the theory-to-practice-to-theory dynamics. We are convinced that we found the right mix of people.

Accordingly, the team yielded essential insights. Our determination to identify '*What's going to make a difference in peace education in Africa?*' is guided, in part, by the brutality in the world today. We maintain that peace education and/or education for peace must be severally emphasised. Our

determination is also guided, in part, by our desire to restore some semblance of the time-honoured African practice of *Ubuntu*, for it truly holds promise for us all. The following chapter outlines the culmination of this exciting journey of systematic and institutionalised exchange and learning.

I: The Changing Context and Interaction

In this section of the book, three chapters highlight the importance of contexts and interaction within and between them in community organising for peace. Boniface's piece makes a significant contribution by its proposition of post-modernism in the peace education curriculum, driven by values of interrogation, deconstruction, reconstruction, demystification of modernist/colonialist narratives and values. It is the conviction of this piece that universal peace education for Africa is a feasible project. Such universal peace education is likely to promote reconciliation, dialogue, critical consciousness and continent-wide democratic deliberation. While promoting the application of universal values, the system would also make use of indigenous knowledge systems and languages to reduce unwarranted abstractness of the values.

Fanie builds on the teachings of Nelson Mandela that if hatred can be learnt, it can also be unlearnt. In this chapter, the focus falls on the way that South Africa's troubled past was introduced to classrooms after 1994, with the specific aim to unlearn the racial hatred and enmity of the past. The new education system drew generously from the experiences and lessons of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as the paradigm for 'dealing with the past'. It also cooperated, in some imaginative projects, with a range of civil society organisations. Accordingly, history education would thus have to counter revisionism, as well as the potential re-politicisation and romanticisation of South Africa's difficult past. The aim must be to help shape a society inclusive of all South Africa's many peoples and perspectives. Thus, form matters as much as content and South Africans need to learn to write and teach history as if people across all divisions really matter. More broadly, African governments need to invest in educating young scholars to study the scads of artefacts and unexamined records scattered about the continent that are essential to developing inclusive historical narratives. In this way, young history scholars will be able to articulate the unique historical record of a continent and its people.

Magnus makes a significant contribution by asserting careful consideration for both what content to select and how it should be communicated in any educational programme, especially long-term community regeneration.

This paper argues that neither content nor methods can be determined without a thorough analysis of contextual conditions. The creative quality of this chapter is in the use of literature written by young authors to draw relevant analysis of contextual conditions experienced by young people that influence their own experiential learning.

II: Rejecting Chronic Violence

In part II, four chapters bring out critical issues and knowledge about chronic violence, and the urgent need to reject and eliminate violence in all its forms as a viable trajectory. Crispin makes a significant contribution by raising questions as to the ways in which extant education allows itself to engage in the constant reproduction of violence in societies wracked by violence. The creativity of the chapter is to see peace education not as one (inevitably small) element in an overall curriculum, but as central to the responsibilities of schools, universities and community education. Further, it makes the case for taking up the challenge to bring hope and to advance the broader cause of peace within fragile societies.

Phindile echoes the narrative of return to *Ubuntu* values. This piece underscores the call to help students, teachers, parents and the community. It asserts that the idea that government alone has the solution will get us nowhere; rather, this should be made a national challenge that invites all South Africans to provide their contribution, no matter how seemingly insignificant, because, as the old adage goes, 'it takes a community to build a child'. Indeed, we cannot continue the blame-shifting game when we know exactly where and how the problem begins! The creative quality of the contribution includes the whole-of-community call.

Tony brings together various understandings found in the literature and elsewhere, with a view to illustrating the multi-layered nature of the traditional and modern conflict resolution processes in the context of a refugee settlement. This chapter highlights the strengths, limitations and constraints of modern and traditional mechanisms in resolving conflict and contributing to reconciliation processes. It makes a significant contribution to: understanding the nature of conflict among refugees, and between refugees and their host communities; the mechanisms that are used to address and resolve conflict; and the perceived legitimacy and effectiveness of such mechanisms among local populations. Understanding the dynamics of modern and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, and their strengths and weaknesses, is vital before starting to work with these institutions and mechanisms to advance peace.

Sidonia focuses on attempts made by the Government of Uganda (GoU) and civil society organisations (CSO) in the collection of illegal weapons and the disarmament of the Karimojong pastoralists in Karamoja region. The piece suggests that Karamoja is experiencing an ongoing shift in its economic, political and social order, including a shift away from pastoral livelihoods to agriculture livelihoods. This shift is critical as the economy and way of life diversifies in response to local realities and the demands of the people, and peacebuilding and conflict management programmes will remain important in areas of existing tension.

III: Picking up the Pieces

True to the promise of exploring practice, four chapters in part III highlight some tested, contemporary best practices that could yield scalable interventions and may be transferrable on the continent. Beverly's inventive contribution from the emerging field of implementation science helps us understand what is needed to effectively implement and scale interventions. This chapter draws on lessons learned in the US and in international replications of evidence-based programmes to explore how evidence-based social emotional learning (SEL) programmes may be applied to promote peace in fragile African contexts. As an application of this methodology, the chapter explores how SEL (which closely relates to *Ubuntu*) could serve as a foundational approach for peace education. SEL programmes that teach children and young people the skills and behaviour that create peace have the potential to be a cornerstone in Africa's efforts to prevent violence and promote peace.

Pamela's ingenuity explores peace education pedagogy from a feminist and inter-sectional perspective. This piece interrogates the neglect of feminist and inter-sectional thinking within traditional peace education teaching and learning, and argues that, through feminist and inter-sectional peace thinking we can encourage a change of mindset for sustainable peace, gender justice and inclusive approaches to educating for peace. The chapter contends that peace education, as a multi-disciplinary area of study, has suffered from explanations that use single lens perspectives. Quite often, such perspectives are underpinned by patriarchal and dominating assumptions that need to be interrogated using transformative feminist and inter-sectional thinking and analysis. This paradigm shift is based on the recognition that feminist and inter-sectional thinking and analysis contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of peace education than non-feminist and non-inter-sectional analysis. The paradigm shift further

acts as a pressure point towards advocating for comprehensive pedagogical strategies, where the goal is to empower both teachers and learners in co-creating and nurturing a culture of peace in diverse and complex situations.

Yvonne and Lynn highlight the resourcefulness of a narrative reflexive process to navigate the terrain for peace building. Special attention is also given to the multiple layers of violence and abuse that destroy the social fabric of society, often resulting in various forms of social abuse and therefore the necessity for relational reflexivity, working at a social level for the collective good. Using a lens of narrative reflexivity allows a story to develop that not only unmasks problems, but allows for the exploration of potentials and possibilities. The strategy is to work towards energising and inspiring, rather than staying with stories that are problem-saturated and deficient-orientated. The process allows people to look collectively at the question, 'What is it we really want that is realistic and relevant?' In this way, there is a shift in focus from problem to essence - to perceiving that which is best within us, that which is life-giving and which is valued by us as a community. Poetic inquiry and narrative theatre are used to enable the journey from reflexive theory to praxis, and to enable agency, voice and social action. The challenges encountered in delivering the project are used creatively to illustrate the theory and the practice that could be explored and tried in other contexts.

In the next chapter, Yvonne, Lynn and Nirmala present a report on a study conducted in 2013 in schools in the North West province of South Africa, to explore and understand what makes South African adolescent children fearful and anxious in their communities. The study approached the questions of fear and anxiety in children from a child-centred perspective, to explore what children living in South African communities are most afraid of, at what level their fears are experienced, and what children believe could happen to make them feel safer. There was further interest in finding out whether children's fears were experienced differently at home, at school or in their communities, and how these three different areas of a child's life impact on or support their sense of safety (this became part of a larger project). The researchers wanted to find this out directly from children, which made it necessary to conduct the study in schools, and to ask children, using a questionnaire, to respond to three primary questions: What is the scariest or most upsetting thing that has happened to you in the last year? How scared or upset did it make you feel? What do you believe could happen, or what could someone do, to make you feel safer?

IV: Designing for Peace Education

In part IV, three chapters explore the ‘how’ and ‘what’ of the teaching-learning approaches that would be compatible with the goals of peace education, and which are holistic, participatory, cooperative, experiential and humanistic. Thus, Martha discusses the assumptions of mainstreaming peace education in the university curriculum and the subsequent approaches undertaken to ensure that this becomes a reality. Although the assumptions are similar, many universities have operationalised this vision by using different, dynamic and multi-faceted approaches, with some offering a required course in Peace Education, others a stand-alone degree, and yet others offering short-term training programmes. The Peace Education initiative in Zimbabwean universities has been happening for close to a decade now and this paper seeks to examine the theory of change that has informed it. The paper further examines the efficacy of the approaches and pedagogical tools that have been used to deliver the intended results. Furthermore, it interrogates how universities and students define the results of such an initiative and how they conclude on the efficacy and success of the Peace Education venture. Ultimately, this chapter posits that a variety of inter-disciplinary approaches – such as peace studies, conflict resolution, citizenship education and leadership development – being offered by the different universities present the opportunity for promoting conditions of peace in Zimbabwe.

Olga considers Namibia’s new curriculum, which is to ‘foster the highest moral and ethical values of ... democracy, tolerance, mutual understanding ...’ and ‘develop and enhance respect for, and understanding and tolerance of other peoples, religions, beliefs, cultures and ways of life ...’. The programme introduces a multimodal, culture-sensitive education programme that should accommodate various lifestyles, traditions and languages of the Namibian population. The aim of the curriculum and, consequently, the vision of the country presented in the document, show Namibia’s commitment to strengthening social cohesion and guaranteeing a learning environment conducive for pupils from all cultural groups. This chapter offers a glimpse into the reality on the ground, examining the implementation of the ‘project’ in the province of Kunene.

Dorcas avers that peace education cannot happen in a vacuum. While there is a strong argument for peace education as contributing to peace, this is not enough. Sustainable peace requires a change in political, social and economic structures that have systematically led to the exclusion and marginalisation of key groups, which has resulted in violence. The structural causes of a conflict that have existed for so long that they have become

embedded in the systems of governance must be transformed. Thus, peace cannot be expected to flourish in a system where the underlying causes of conflict are left to fester. Ultimately, peace education is not just useful for imparting relevant and useful content, values and skills: formal and informal learners should be able to personally and individually embrace peace as a lifestyle.

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PART I

THE CHANGING CONTEXT AND INTERACTION





Towards Universal Peace Education in Africa?

Boniface Bwanyire

INTRODUCTION

In attempting to ascertain if universal peace education might exist within the global context, in general, and the African context, in particular, one has to start by determining the existence of universal normative values that could form the philosophical basis of that education, mindful of the fact that any kind of education is about social values. In that regard, my point of departure is that any talk of peace education presupposes the existence of common normative values that transcend all cultures and peoples everywhere. The inference is that, regardless of where one comes from and one's particular and peculiar circumstances or context, there are certain inherent human values that define humanity. Humanity is the same, and variations in conceptions of humanity are just social constructs that are not God-ordained.

Therefore, in terms of natural law, all human beings enjoy pre-eminent and inherent human attributes that are part and parcel of their existence, whether these are acknowledged or not. Regrettably, however, universal values have always been a political and empirical issue, as the fundamental human rights have been reduced to legalistic rights and privileges that can be given and withdrawn at the behest of the ruling elite. This has tended to complicate the process of implementing peace education curricula across the world, as the deep and fundamental issues of peace education that are based on natural law were sacrificed for political expediency and the ideological preferences of the political establishment. The point is that, although basic natural cosmopolitan values exist, parochial and particularistic interests tend to confound their proper inclusion in peace education curricula, with cultural considerations being given precedence over universal values. If universal values are acknowledged at all, they are usually tempered with parochial cultural perspectives that tend to favour the particular interests of political elites or the establishment, who tend to give precedence to social order concerns, rather than individual freedoms.

The above dichotomy – universalism versus cultural relativism – makes it all the more important and imperative to intensify the crusade for universal peace education. Indeed, it seems to me that the fact that attempts at

peace education in most African countries have been saddled with particularisms has resulted in our current peaceless conditions because the elites had the privilege to cherry-pick values that were pro-establishment interests rather than the universal ones premised upon natural and inalienable individual rights. The dichotomy, which is both theoretical and empirical, calls for the teaching of universal social consciousness, in order to resolve tensions/contradictions between individual freedom and social order. The contention here is that, in spite of different socio-cultural contexts in Africa and the world at large, it is possible to identify values that are universally recognisable, and that can be the basis of all peace education curricula. The teaching of universal values of peace education entail inculcation – at all levels of education – informal and non-formal – of the following domains:

- knowledge
- skills
- behaviour
- attitudes

Within the above-mentioned domains, the values upon which any universal peace education is premised, such as the following, must be given precedence over all others:

- non-violent conflict resolution – renunciation of all forms of violence
- tolerance/reconciliation
- human compassion
- sanctity of life
- human dignity
- empathy/sympathy/inter-subjectivity
- inter-cultural understanding/sensitivity
- global citizenship
- respect (for self and the environment)
- social justice

Universal peace education is about peace-related individual and community consciousness – consciousness translated into formal and non-formal curricula and programmes of education. Cultural relativists will argue that Africans have different languages and cultures and that the tenets must be preserved and respected. While this may hold a grain of truth, the point is that the core values of peace education are ‘blind’ to culture, race, religion and gender, among other things. All cultures speak the same language of

peace, if given the chance to articulate. The values of peace education are a meta-language applicable to the entirety of humanity. Thus, the curricula may be in different languages, but the principal universal values must reflect in those curricula. Even cultural relativists have to realise that even the mention of 'culture' or 'language' is a narrative of universalism rather than individualism. Whether we like it or not, currently, universalism is key to any kind of meaningful social organisation. Among numerous other things, the peace education curriculum should promote peace by deflating the myth prevalent in realist philosophy that: humans are inherently/naturally violent, cruel and not compassionate towards one another; humans are nasty and brutish in nature, as portrayed in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*.

That universal morality involves universal values has always been treated with cynicism by proponents of 'cultural relativism', who claim that there are no values or norms independent of cultural contexts and practices. They brazenly declare that all values and norms are culturally variable and diverse; thereby making any claim to universal values more of a charade than anything else. This realism places emphasis on the notion that in conceptualising and determining educational policies, we tend to think and behave as people and countries, rather than as a species. This is as true today as it was during the colonial era, in which, according to Ali Mazrui:

The different groups in the country maintained their separate ethnic identities by being ruled in part through own native institutions ... [D]ifferent sections of the population perceived each other as strangers, sometimes as aliens, increasingly as rivals, and ominously as potential enemies.¹

And herein resides the curricula challenge of universal peace education. Are we able to extricate ourselves from thinking as peoples and cultures, and perceive ourselves as humans who have a common humanity and inalienable rights that are applicable to all, regardless of race, geography and other systemic considerations? My position is that it is possible. It is not going to happen overnight, as is the case with all grand projects. The fact that some elements of modernism and enlightenment, as practically applied in the European colonial adventure of the nineteenth century, must not be permitted to divert attention from the right thing – peace education based on universal values mired in the natural rights of the individual person.

INTERROGATING CURRENT PEACE EDUCATION PRACTICE

In dealing with the possibility of universal peace education in Africa, one has to address the issue of responsibility – responsibility in terms of curriculum design and implementation, curriculum resourcing in terms of human capital development, and financing and concept development (among other things). It seems obvious that peace education should be a multi-stakeholder enterprise, rather than a monopoly of state/dominant groups. It has been shown time and again that when governments, civil society, social institutions and other stakeholders work in collaboration, rather than in competition, the results are usually remarkable. For example, the earlier evident success of the 'Education-for-All' policy in post-independence Zimbabwe, which resulted in the highest literacy rates in Africa, can be attributable, in large part, to the synergistic collaboration between the Government of Zimbabwe, civil society and international donors. UNICEF has played a leading role, not only in bankrolling peace education efforts, but also in the development of curricula and in encouraging buy-in of the idea across Africa and the world at large.

One would expect that the African Union (AU) would be prominent in the sphere of peace education, but it seems that much of its effort has been in the direction of peacekeeping. With time, one hopes, it will be understood that the effort expended in peacekeeping missions in Africa would be far less frequent with concerted investment in the 'software of peace', rather than the 'hardware of peace'. Even though there is general consensus regarding multi-stakeholder responsibility for peace education in Africa, it seems that the greatest responsibility falls on the shoulders of governments, because of their authority and control of resources and policy instruments in countries. Deployed with proper goodwill, the resources at the disposal of governments in Africa can make a real difference in the consolidation of peace education on the continent.

It has already been indicated that universal peace education is about a collective social consciousness focused on a culture and ethos of peace. There is much potential in advancing peace education through the formal curriculum, provided sufficient political will exists. However, in some cases, the formal curricula approach has failed to achieve desired goals, because of suspicion towards government intentions in introducing or promoting peace education initiatives. This is particularly the case in highly polarised political environments, in which there is contested political legitimacy and limited goodwill towards government and its institutions. A culture of peace must be inculcated, not only through formal curricula, but also through

the hidden curriculum, wherein values are transferred in subliminal ways during the normal day-to-day existence of the child. This, in my view, is the area in which the collective social consciousness plays a much bigger and more profound role in promoting a culture of peace. This is also the view held by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which asserts:

It is UNICEF's position that peace education has a place in all societies – not only in countries undergoing armed conflict or emergencies. Because lasting behavior change in children and adults only occurs over time, effective peace education is necessarily a long-term process, not a short-term intervention. While often based in schools and other learning environments, peace education should ideally involve the entire community.²

My submission is that if there is congruence between the hidden and overt, and the formal and non-formal curriculum, there is a greater likelihood that a culture of peace would take a more sustainable trajectory. Thus, universal precepts of peace should not be considered grist for the mill of formal curricula delivered in brick-and-mortar settings, but also for the very informal settings of day-to-day living. This two-sided trajectory is likely to yield quicker positive results, because Africa will not have to wait for an entire generation of children who have been taught peace education at school to assume the mantle of leadership – a place where the values of peace are in very short supply.

Earlier, it has been established that any kind of universal education, especially in terms of the content of the curriculum, is a multi-stakeholder undertaking, involving state and non-state actors. There is no doubt that where a collective social consciousness towards a culture of peace exists, popular culture and media can be a conduit for much good. Just as much as these have been used to promote cultural relativism, so too can they be utilised to promote universal peace education mindsets. Having realised the vital role the media plays in promoting either peace or war, there is now a movement towards peace journalism – journalism that does not incite violence by dwelling on peace narratives. Among other things, the demand for peace journalism in Africa has been given impetus by the role that hate radio played in the genocide in Rwanda:

And in a major decision in 2003, the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) found two radio (journalists) and one print journalist guilty of inciting genocide, the first international court to do so since the Nuremberg conviction of Julius Streicher. In short, radio has become the

symbol of genocide in Rwanda, and Rwanda has become a paradigmatic case of hate radio sparking genocide.³

Hypodermic theories of media effects, though controversial, suggest that media content is like the content of a hypodermic syringe – if children see violence, they tend to imitate the violence and it is gradually ingrained into their behaviour. It becomes part and parcel of their consciousness.⁴ My point is that if radio and other mass media could be employed to espouse and consolidate the values of peace, as opposed to violence, popular culture would tend towards peaceful ways of resolving conflict. Considering the acknowledged role of media to ‘inform, educate and entertain’, I would say the media is a major player in the peace education project – and its role must include emphasising the universal inalienable rights of the individual. The challenge is to have a corps of journalists sharing and cherishing a culture of peace, which culture would be part of the universal social consciousness alluded to above, since it is generally accepted that the media tend to be a mirror of society.⁵

One of the questions that we must grapple with has to do with the goals of cosmopolitan peace education. Should the goals of peace education in Africa be the same or different from those in other parts of the world? It is my contention that short-term goals should be, and are, inevitably suited to emergencies, while long-term ones should be futuristic in orientation and based on a future outlook of harmonious and peaceful coexistence of all. Once again, the dichotomy between universalists and cultural relativists comes to the fore. However, if we proceed from the understanding of the pre-existing natural rights of all humankind, we can agree that it is possible to have cosmopolitan peace education for Africa – a peace education curriculum based on pan-African philosophies such as *Ubuntu*.

The anti-universalist argument has always been centred on colonial hegemonic experiences, which are generally portrayed as schemes to impose Western values on Africa. However, to continue to argue in this way is to suggest that Africans deserve less, and that even if Africans live in peaceless conditions, it’s okay – as long as they are preserving and pursuing their own cultural values! Regardless of the cultural environment in which all Africans live, their common humanity still cannot be alienated from them, and this forms the basis of the promise of universal peace education.

There is an empirical dimension to it as well. Cultural relativism or anti-universalism has been the main thread of argument in post-colonial discourse – even to date – when people talk about pan-Africanism:

... anti-universalism has been sharply critical of what is seen as a tendency to foist western schooling practices on minority communities in western democracies and on indigenous people in former colonies.⁶

But then, if cultural relativism is the way to go for Africa, how can one account for the unremitting peacelessness on the continent, not only before the 'partition of Africa', but also in the post-independence era? Even as we speak, there are countless conflict hotspots in Africa. But even more puzzling and saddening is the fact that some of the most atrocious episodes of peace violation in Africa have been perpetrated by political leaders – most of whom have been through various pre-colonial and post-colonial school curricula that generally include peace education precepts, with varying degrees of emphasis.

Having said that, it is worth noting that, since the 1980s, scholars have tried to craft appropriate goals for peace education; one that strikes me as most appropriate is:

The overarching goal of education for peace is both the reduction of violence and the transformation of mind-sets that emphasize cultures of war.⁷

This conceptualisation of the goal of peace education implies an underlying distinction between situations and conditions of immediate danger and a more long-term outlook.

Transformative learning is a deep cultural and philosophical adjustment through which people come to see life and living through new lenses. Values and attitudes are transformed, from competition, consumerism and a historicism to cooperation and shared resources; and through this transformation new possibilities begin to emerge for a society based on common principles, needs, interests and shared visions.⁸

Such transformative peace education leads to self-consciousness and greater awareness of the universal values of peace. Although the anti-universal lobby will condemn such a project, care must be taken to ensure that anti-universalism does not become an orthodoxy that prevents appropriate attention to issues which, especially under conditions of globalisation, require a universalist approach. In that regard, I am inclined to subscribe to the view that this obsessive preoccupation with anti-universalism obstructs possibilities of addressing glaring global injustices in education.⁹ Thus, we ought to realise that universal peace education in Africa is at risk

of over-reaction to the perceived iniquities of colonialism and its *worlding* project.

Beyond that, peace education in the twenty-first century must borrow from post-modern discourse that focuses on deconstruction and demystification of the human condition.¹⁰ Among other things, peace education must dismantle the mentality that war is natural to the human being – and hence unavoidable. War is preventable and is caused by human beings who disguise their group interests behind the national interest. There is proof abundant that many of the famous wars that have been fought could have been avoided – the War of Jenkins's Ear (1739–1748), the French Revolution, the Zimbabwe War of Independence, etc. If a culture-of-peace approach had prevailed, the loss of life and suffering associated with those wars would have been avoided. Instead, false heroes are produced, while advocates of peaceful means of resolving conflict are relegated to the periphery of the discourse. Thus, it should be one of the goals unequivocally embedded in African peace education curricula to debunk the myth that war is natural to humans.

Peace education in Africa and the entire global community must equip citizens and children with the skills of critical thinking and analysis that bring about improved self-awareness. Such an education must provide all, not only with peacemaking skills, but also with the capacity for interrogation of the taken-for-granted socio-political structures that legitimise peaceless conditions. Peaceless conditions are created by humans and can certainly be changed by them, as exemplified by Mahatma Gandhi, who pioneered 'passive resistance' to British colonial rule in India, rather than violent resistance.

Peace education must result in authentic, sustainable peace and security. Given the continued suffering of African people, due to all kinds of war during and after colonial rule, one must conclude that the peace-making tools that have been applied to date have largely been unsuccessful. My contention is that there has been, and there continues to be, more emphasis placed on militarised solutions to bring about peace – the result of which has always been unsustainable, negative peace in most African countries.

Universal peace education must also be situated within the broader context of world citizenship. Such education, based as it should be on universal peace values, will enable individuals to live their lives based on tenets of peace, wherever they might be:

Starting from the long-held premise that peace education is education for responsible global citizenship, our task, in general terms, is educating towards

political efficacy in the formation and pursuit of citizen action and public policy intended to move the world towards the achievement of a more just and less violent global order.¹¹

Such a goal of peace education also remains relevant to Africa. It is the sort of education that will move Africa towards a more bully-free political environment.

CONTEXTUALISING PEACE EDUCATION IN AFRICA – A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Considering the preponderance of conflict and insecurity in Africa today, one is left wondering if there ever was peace education in pre-colonial Africa. Certainly, while there was no formal education curricula in pre-colonial times, social values were transmitted from generation to generation. The question is, were values regarding a culture of peace also transmitted in this way? This was the case to an extent, but peaceful coexistence and tolerance seems to have been confined to the clan or tribe, while hostility towards 'other' was a well-cultivated norm. Raids against neighbouring tribes or clans for food, livestock, slaves and women were a source, not only of wealth and resources, but also of honour and prestige in the tribe. However, it was generally frowned upon for anyone within the tribal community to exercise barbarity and savagery against group members.

Thus, the notion of the sanctity of life and inner humanity was generally recognised. However, this was not applied to other tribes, which were invariably treated with either contempt or hostility. In this case, the notion of a culture of peaceful coexistence was more the exception than the norm. In communities in West Africa, this peacelessness was exacerbated by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Thus, inasmuch as there was some harmony within the tribe – even though it was generally based on fear and was worse for women – one could say there was rudimentary peace education in pre-colonial Africa within the narrow confines of the tribal grouping.

In post-colonial education philosophy, positive accolades for peace education during the colonial era are seldom found. There is so much reaction that we risk losing sight of some of the salutary aspects of the education systems. According to the anti-universalists:

[T]he Universalist wishes to export, unchanged, European conceptions of education, attempting to recreate a bygone English grammar school ethos

(competitive and individualist) a curriculum premised on the Western canon, including Eurocentric history moral education that denigrates local custom and is premised on western enlightenment or Christian codes of conduct; and individualistic learning styles that discourage collaboration and despise indigenous knowledge.¹²

True, colonial administrations had a law-and-order focus that influenced the education systems they developed. Peace education was essentially Bible knowledge, meaning that the Christian ethos was the basis of peace education. Essentially, there is nothing wrong in basing peace education on Christian morality, but it is the coercion and bullying that was used to whip the natives into that which most scholars detest. Colonial administrations were concerned with the creation of an orderly system and ensuring that chronic and nascent tribal wars were brought to an end. Thus, although brute force was utilised, education played an important part in promoting a culture of peace. This combination led to a fairly peaceful colonial Africa. One could argue that, in most cases there was repressive peace, which could not be sustained, given that the value system of the natives was not conflated into the system of education. This, in part, explains why nationalist movements gained ascendancy to spearhead struggles for independence.

PEACE EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF A DISPUTED POST-COLONIAL TERRAIN

Although African liberation movements were critical of colonial systems of education in terms of content and access, post-independence Africa was not able to develop peace education content that was radically different from what had been on offer during colonial times. True, there was enhanced access to education, as shown by increased enrolment, but, in terms of content, the so-called Western Christian moral precepts continued to have a pervasive influence on education curricula. What is noticeable is that the kind of peace education provided in post-colonial Africa did not have a salutary impact on peacelessness in Africa. The withdrawal of colonial powers plunged many African countries into political turmoil, as the politics of identity, recognition, patronage and redistribution held sway. In other words, although peace education was part of the education curricula, it did not have sufficient impact to create a universal and enduring culture of peace in Africa. The levels of criminality, brutality and genocide experienced in post-colonial Africa leave one wondering if peace education on the

continent has been an effective tool for addressing and managing peace and security threats, even to this day.

How does one account for the genocide in Rwanda and the Matabeleland atrocities in post-independence Zimbabwe, among other gruesome episodes in post-colonial Africa? Although there have been pockets of peace and tranquillity, Africa abounds with examples where citizens have not known peace since colonial times. There are instances in which African countries, led by some of the most educated minds, are experiencing untold brutality and suffering on an industrial scale, prompting one to question the efficacy of peace education in pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa. Why so much barbarism and penury, decades after colonial administrations handed over authority to indigenous rulers? Notions of peace, such as tolerance, respect for human rights, inclusiveness, accountability and pacific resolution of disputes were invariably jettisoned for political expediency, deferring to racial, cultural and ideological dogmatism. Peace narratives were relegated to the periphery of national dialogue, as the new political elite paid more attention to the cultural complexities, violence, insurgency and resistance that bedevilled their rule. Well-considered discourse on peace education, especially in the formal curricula, was supplanted with propaganda and indoctrination, whose main narrative was to the effect that any social values associated with past European colonial regimes were anathema. This meant that the universal values of individual natural rights and humanity, which were part of colonial education, were shunted aside in favour of new establishmentarianism that was meant to enable the new elite to consolidate their hold on power.

The chronic wars and civil strife in Africa, invariably attributed to the former colonial masters by the new ruling elite, seem to suggest either that previous approaches to peace education have failed or that there is a serious dearth of a peace education orientation in current educational systems. Considering the situation in countries like Somalia, Central African Republic, South Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria, Libya and Zimbabwe (among others), one is driven to conclude that universal values of peace are considered far less important than the attainment, consolidation and maintenance of political sway over a country, at any cost. All too often, the excuses given for non-adherence to natural human values is that they are part of the narratives of Western capitalist ideology, which must not be countenanced at all by all so-called 'self-respecting' Africans. Thus, in as far as peace education is about bringing and nurturing genuine and sustainable peace for citizens, Africa has failed to a large extent, given the ever-volatile and fragile peace and security situation in all regions of the continent today.

RE-CONCEPTUALISING PEACE EDUCATION CURRICULA – MODERNITY TO POST-MODERNITY IN AFRICA

Considering the widespread dearth of peace and security in many parts of Africa, one is compelled to declare that it is now time to reconsider or reconceptualise our notions of peace education for Africa. Evidence abounds to give credence to the potential of a universal peace education system covering all regions of Africa. What seems quite clear is that we need a common language of peace that is based on universally recognised values. Here, I am referring to universal values of tolerance, sanctity of life, human dignity, non-violence, human rights and fundamental freedoms, justice, equality and democracy, among others. Africans of all nationalities deserve the same kind of dignified treatment that is taken for granted in advanced democracies of the world. To argue that the situation in Africa is different is to suggest that Africans deserve less than other human beings in other parts of the world. However, the question has always been: *What's going to make a difference in terms of establishing and nurturing sustainable peace education in Africa?*

I suppose that one of the issues that need to be addressed in the process of re-casting peace education in Africa is that of what and whose values should be embedded in the universal African curriculum. This question has to be addressed in the context of conflict zones, dominance/hegemony, elite succession and globalisation. My contention is that the immediacy or compelling need for quick gain approaches to peace education in conflict zones can neither be neglected nor over-emphasised. Africans in conflict zones require tools to transform mindsets and create active awareness about the need for a universal culture of peace. However, this is easier said than done in high-intensity and high-stakes conflicts buttressed by extremisms of all sorts, such as those posed by al-Shabaab in Somalia and Boko Haram in Nigeria. The whole situation is compounded by inadequate elite succession processes and issues of group dominance over others. But what can make a difference is the fact of globalisation, with narratives that involve openness, rapid transfer of information and knowledge, common values and integration. Kofi Anan, the then UN Secretary-General, when delivering the Millennium Report 2000, acknowledged that inclusive globalisation is a positive force for all the world's people, including Africans, and that it has immense capacity to create a shared future of universal peace and progress, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity.¹³

Without a doubt, globalisation has many critics, and the most traded argument is that it intrudes into a local culture, rides roughshod over local

traditions, and threatens established ways of life. Evidence suggests that in many traditional societies, globalisation threatens the cultural and religious underpinnings of society, including those that promote peacelessness.

However, the inescapable reality is that globalisation is making citizens more and more knowledgeable and able to question narratives of the dominant elites of their countries, and peace education initiatives must latch onto the wave of globalisation to promote common values of peace. Nevertheless, we must still answer the question: 'Whose values?' It has been indicated earlier that human beings have pre-existing values that are inalienable, wherever they are and whosoever they be. It is those values that must form the basis of peace education in Africa. Those values are universal and everything else must be built on top of that foundation.

Prescriptive as it may sound, this approach does not necessarily mean a negation of systemic considerations such as culture and religion. Rather, it seeks possibilities of conflating the peace culture elements of these systemic issues into the universal peace education curricula. This sounds like quite a tall order, but in the possible existence of a common consciousness permeating all African nations, the common language of peace in any language and any country should make a difference. The development of that language of peace is quite feasible, given globalisation and the flow of information and knowledge, as well as the existence of regional and continental groupings working in areas of peace and security, governance, politics and economics. These can be hubs and think-tanks that could spearhead such an effort, so that all Africans understand the said common language, and live it in their daily lives.

Considering Africa's inglorious record in the area of peace, one would think that there is a need to engage in a curricula paradigm shift. This is not to say that the challenges of peace can be solved through curricula design alone – there are other tools that can be applied in tandem with the curricula. The prevailing curricula do not give prominence to non-violence and pacific resolution of disputes. They are designed within the narrow confines of modernist realist political ethos that lionise warmongers, who are generally referred to as 'heroes', while tending to downplay – if not denigrate and demonise – peace heroes. Thus, the modernist curricula encourages an aggressive mindset and portrays peace-oriented citizens as 'cowards' or as 'unpatriotic'.

What is going to make a difference is a new approach to curriculum design and implementation that casts modernist narratives of sabre-rattling, militarism and jingoism within the grand narratives of peace-making, peace-heroism and peace culture (among others). What is going to make

a difference is a new peace pedagogy in which there is deconstruction of prevailing violence-oriented narratives – a pedagogy that leads to the demystification of war as an inevitable condition of humankind. The new curricula dispensation must be based on constructionist pedagogy, through which a new language and understanding evolves, based on new values, new awareness of and sensitivity to human suffering and the potential for new peaceful coexistence. Thus, the new pedagogy would lead to society-wide repudiation of war, violence, wholesale disempowerment of communities, militarism and oppression.

The new peace pedagogy may not be the panacea to penurious conditions in Africa arising from chronic and widespread peacelessness, but it certainly radicalises the way peace is grown, nurtured and discoursed. Such a fresh culture of peace has already been anticipated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which says it is:

... values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life based on, among others, respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation; full respect and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms; commitment to peaceful settlement of conflicts; and adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations.¹⁴

Therefore, Africa requires and deserves a new peace pedagogy that has transformative peace education as its core business. Such pedagogy must transition from cultures of violence to cultures of peace, based on deliberate programmes of education that emphasise the production of caring citizens who value the sanctity of human life. Thus, what would make a difference is a pedagogical system premised upon post-modern values, rather than modernist values that, to date, have not brought enduring peace in Africa.

ENSURING SUSTAINABLE PEACE EDUCATION OUTCOMES IN AFRICA

Peace pedagogy alone will not deliver Africa from the chronic penury of mass killings, ethnic cleansing, extremism, civil wars and peacelessness, for which the continent has earned considerable notoriety. In order to achieve sustainable universal peace education in Africa, there must be inclusion of

other considerations, such as good governance, democratisation, empowerment of individual citizens and socio-economic justice.

In the absence of these pillars of peace, enduring and sustainable peace cannot be achieved in Africa, and indeed, globally. It is generally the case that where higher levels of democracy exist, higher indices of peaceful co-existence in society are also found. Democratic environments are associated with: frequent renewal of political leadership; tolerance and respect for different opinions; accentuation of individual rights, as opposed to collective; appreciation of diversity; and acceptance of the tenets of fundamental freedoms. These values are congruent with the purpose and intended outcomes of peace education. Where a democratic culture is pervasive, peace education is likely to be more effective, and this in turn feeds back into an enhanced democratic environment. But here, one is talking about real democratic conditions, rather than the tokenism now common in Africa, where populations are manipulated to vote in elections whose outcomes do not reflect their wishes and aspirations. Peace education should result in a shift away from a situation where:

The modern media-shaped political life threatens individuals with a new type of postmodern serfdom, in which elections, political campaigns, and political parties provide rituals without substance, a politics of sound bites and manipulative images, reducing the citizen to a mechanical object to be controlled, rather than being the legitimating source of legitimate authority.¹⁵

If we take universal peace education in Africa to be the grand project that it ought to be, we must address the governance terrain in which it must be conceived and implemented. Governance is one of those critical success factors for implementing such a grand project. Although it may be argued that good governance is the result of well-conceived and implemented peace education programmes, the fact remains that, in an environment devoid of good governance, peace education remains pie-in-the-sky for Africa. Thus, without a doubt, all the major tenets of peace education will come to nought in an environment devoid of social justice, accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, across-the-board citizen participation and empowerment, as well as institutional efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness.

Abuse of the concept of sovereignty has haunted many an effort towards international cooperation. At the moment, African states relate with one another as sovereign entities that claim the right to determine their own destiny without interference from outsiders. Thus, the success of universal peace education in Africa depends on the cooperation of sovereign states

interacting as equals to implement a grand project. It implies that, as with other international agreements, they have to be prepared to surrender a part of their sovereignty – or, conversely, to pool their sovereignties – and agree to follow such a universal peace education curriculum. This might not be as problematic as one would imagine, considering the fact that most African countries are already in regional blocks – such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) – as well as being signatories to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, perhaps more importantly, the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights. It is also interesting and instructive to note that some African countries have made a start and have education policies that explicitly advance education for peace. For example, the Ethiopian Education Policy is explicit with regards to human rights; it states:

Education also plays a role in the promotion of respect for human rights and democratic values, creating the condition for equality, mutual understanding and cooperation among people.¹⁶

Further, in section 2.1.3., the policy specifically mentions the issue of peace and states that the education system must:

Bring up citizens who respect human rights, stand for the well-being of people, as well as for equality, justice and peace, endowed with democratic culture and discipline.¹⁷

The values enshrined in universal peace education are further elaborated in the policy: section 2.2.9. emphasises a system that '[p]rovides education that promotes democratic culture, tolerance and peaceful resolution of differences'; section 2.2.10. calls for a system that can 'produce citizens who stand for democratic unity, liberty, equality, dignity and justice'.¹⁸

These peace education values enshrined in the policy are indicative of hope that universal peace education is achievable in Africa, given Ethiopia's historical background of violence. This, I dare say, is not an isolated case. Many other African countries speak this same language in their education policies, giving one reason for optimism about the possibility of universal peace education for Africa.

TOWARDS A COSMOPOLITAN/UNIVERSAL PEACE EDUCATION IN AFRICA: CAN UNIVERSAL PEACE EDUCATION EXIST?

Africa is a mosaic of cultures, tribes, nations, nationalities, religions, economies, ideologies and political systems. Countries in Africa have variegated pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experiences. Most African countries, at some point in their history, have gone through some form of civil strife that has led to the loss of countless lives. African history is a painting of mass murder, genocide, rape and torture, which makes the demand for peace education no longer an optional matter, but a moral imperative! Given the amount of suffering caused by various forms of violence in Africa, it is no longer appropriate to ask if peace education is needed on the continent. Rather, the question should be: Can that education be made universal?

Earlier, it has been shown that there exist universal human values that are natural to human beings, regardless of their tribe, nationality, race, religion, sex or culture. This notion of natural rights was explained by Thomas Paine (1731–1809), in his influential work, *Rights of Man* (1791); it stresses that those rights cannot be conferred by any charter, because this would legally imply they can also be revoked. Under such circumstances, they would be reduced to mere privileges that could be withdrawn at the whim of the rulers. If we accept the existence of the pre-state rights of every individual, we can conclude that it is possible to develop a system of peace education in which the natural rights of the individual are firmly embedded. Since these rights are applicable to all, the possibility of universal peace education cannot be an abstraction. Thus, in terms of curriculum core-values, Africa can have a cosmopolitan peace education regime applicable to all African countries. This is affirmed by Appiah, who distinguishes identity claims from cultural claims and insists that what he calls ‘genuine values’ – namely those universal values that matter independently of our projects and identities – have priority.¹⁹

This implies that continental curriculum guidelines or policy must be developed and used as the source for all peace education in Africa. Thus, in a sense, a centred peace education policy framework that is founded on the natural rights of humanity is not only possible but desirable. Anti-universalists would vehemently deride this approach, claiming it was reminiscent of the old modernist ‘melting pot’ policies, which undermined and underrated African culture and dignity in the interest of Western cultural hegemony. However, Africans cannot continue to use some of the mistakes of the colonial enterprise to deny fellow Africans their natural rights. Yes, colonial universalism had its own undeniable aberrations, but

there are possibilities of a new universalism in peace education. If we can talk about 'Pan-Africanism', 'African Renaissance' and 'African solutions to African problems', we can also, in a similar way, realise universal peace education in Africa. Clearly, when we talk about Pan-Africanism, we are implying a collective social consciousness – which can also be applied to peace education in Africa. On this basis, one could conclude that universal peace education for Africa is feasible.

At a lower level of the universal peace education project would be a system reflecting post-modern themes and narratives entailing critical questioning and appraisal of the entire current value system. In other words, local curricula designers would have to critically interrogate existing education curricula (formal and informal), to ascertain the extent to which the values of peace are embedded in the different curricula. There would be deconstruction of current national education curricula, followed by construction of new peace education curricula that accentuate natural and individual rights.

In terms of the implementation of universal peace education principles, national governments could even use vernacular languages to impart the principal values of peace. Earlier, it was indicated that peace education premised upon the recognition of fundamental natural rights is a common language that can be taught in various dialects or local languages. Thus, it makes no difference if the local curriculum is in isiNdebele, Swahili, Amharic, Arabic, Bemba, Zulu or Lingala, as long as universal values are brought to the fore. In this way, universal peace education is a possibility for Africa. Curricula and instruction in any language in Africa can reflect the assertion that human rights are inalienable and that:

... recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.²⁰

In a sense, the local curricula would be based on the adage, 'think globally, act locally'. The principal values of peace education could be transmitted in different forms and settings within Africa by applying some of the notions of post-modernism, which rejects the grand narratives of modernism, instead preferring minor narratives that shed light on local events and practices. Such minor narratives would be useful in universal peace education (meta-narrative), because they enable localised critical consciousness of a universal precept.

CONCLUSION

It is my conviction that universal peace education for Africa is a feasible project. Such universal peace education is likely to promote reconciliation, dialogue, critical consciousness and continent-wide democratic deliberation. While promoting the application of universal values, the system would also make use of indigenous knowledge systems and languages to reduce unwarranted abstractness of the values. Universal peace education must be seen as a language unto itself, a language spoken and lived by all African people, wherever they are. With globalisation on the ascendancy, universal peace education is becoming more of a possibility, given the global technology-driven dissemination of information on developments in other parts of the world. We are getting to a point where public reason has become a universal phenomenon; Africa cannot escape this juggernaut. If relevant authorities do not take measures to introduce and consolidate peace education, the public will soon demand it, given the suffering African people have experienced through war and conflict.

As alluded to earlier, universal peace education is possible, given that African governments are already signatories to many international agreements regarding other matters. In the same way, African governments could rally around the universal peace education project and, together with partners, make it a reality. Already, in August 2009, at the Special Session of the Assembly of the Union on the Consideration and Resolution of Conflicts in Africa, held in Tripoli, Libya, the African Union alluded to the importance of peace education, when, in Article 19 of the Tripoli Declaration on the Elimination of Conflicts in Africa and the Promotion of Sustainable Peace, it stated:

Making and sustaining peace and security is also an intellectual challenge. We therefore undertake to build the capacity of our universities and research institutes to explore the nature of African conflicts, to investigate what succeeds and what fails in conflict resolution efforts, and to arrive at African-centred solutions, drawing from our own distinctive and unique experience.²¹

The momentum for peace education has been set, and it remains for governments and their partners to devise clear-cut programmes that have universal application in Africa. Peace education should result in good or humane governance, and this can only come about through increased self-awareness and a social consciousness about the balance between individual natural rights and group rights. In this regard:

It is virtually impossible to imagine humane governance as a global phenomenon without presupposing the increasing influence and acceptance of participatory politics, whether or not called 'democracy', resting on the dignity of the individual, but also of the group.²²

Thus, universal principles must be embedded in the peace education curricula, both formal and informal, while instruction could take into account some of the systemic peculiarities in given countries. Universalism is therefore not just necessary, but inevitable, whether it be called 'partial universalism' or 'qualified universalism' or any other nomenclature given on account of accommodation of some 'localisms'. The almost endemic peacelessness in Africa is symbolic, not only of what needs fixing, but also of what is right and must be done – planting and actively nurturing a robust universal peace education system for the long-suffering people of Africa. This is not just a moral imperative, but also a matter of common interest and decency.

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Teaching the Past as if People Mattered

History Education as Peace Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa

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INTRODUCTION

Nelson Mandela famously said that if hatred can be learnt, it can also be unlearned. In this chapter, the focus falls on the way that South Africa's troubled past was introduced in classrooms after 1994, with the specific aim to unlearn the racial hatred and enmity of the past. The new educational system drew generously from the experiences and lessons of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a paradigm for 'dealing with the past'. It also cooperated on some imaginative projects with a range of civil society organisations. I will focus here on some of the lessons learnt – as much from the mistakes as from the achievements – through cooperation between the formal education system in South Africa and the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), which emerged from the TRC to continue certain aspects of its work.

Apartheid, of course, had its own extensive educational machinery, in order to get its message across, and so as to maintain its ideological and political grip on society. 'Christian Nationalism' not only preached separation as the will of God, but, through institutionalised inequality, it subtly underscored that some were more equipped to lead than others. It was in the name of this value-system that generations of schoolchildren, black and white, received their education – it was designed to make them good Christians, good loyal citizens, and to keep them from engaging one another or asking the difficult questions at all costs.

Evidently, not all education builds a more secure world. Apartheid, of course, claimed that that was precisely what it was doing: countering the godlessness of communism in the name of securing (white) Christianity in Africa. In fact, it precipitated the very insecurity it feared so much.

It was therefore no surprise that education became a primary battleground when institutions at the receiving end of multi-layered levels of violence galvanised support for rolling mass protest. It was this very system that eventually prompted Soweto schoolchildren to take up sticks and stones to protest against their systemic and systematic dehumanisation – setting in motion a chain of events that would lead to the ousting of the

Nationalist government and, eventually, Nelson Mandela's inauguration as South Africa's first democratic president.

In what follows, I first identify some lessons from the TRC's handling of South Africa's past. This is followed by a brief history of education after apartheid, and thereafter a description of three of the IJR's projects. Through the course of the discussion, a number of key lessons are identified for those concerned with developing history education as peace education, not least in the context of post-conflict reconstruction and development in Africa.

A NEW NATION DEALING WITH ITS PAST

Apartheid denied the fundamental inter-dependence of black and white South Africans.¹ Instead, it proposed separateness as a political and social ideal. From this position, with little traction in reality, a 'factual' conclusion was drawn: South Africans belonged apart, because they were *fundamentally irreconcilable* within one society. Forgetting that this conclusion was inevitable, given the argument's point of departure, apartheid preached that only by living apart could white and black coexist peacefully.

Whenever this self-referential logic was questioned (as indeed it was throughout the system's existence – from both the inside and the outside), the hawks produced the clinching argument: racial separation was also the only realistic response to communist ideological advances in South Africa, as a way of: keeping South Africa 'Christian'; and of keeping the communists out during the period of radical USSR expansionism in Southern Africa.

For these reasons, and others, apartheid seldom owned up to its own racism. After Verwoerd's infamous declaration that mathematics education for black South Africans was absurd, given their limited prospects in life, apartheid leaders generally understood that the system did not sell so well as a moral project.² Instead, the realist arguments of keeping an ANC/Communist alliance at bay fared much better, not least in the eyes of the West, which was at war with the USSR, and whose support was crucial to keep the regime afloat.³

It is for precisely this reason that apartheid made education a key priority, in at least two ways. On the one hand, it offered a systematically inferior quality of education to black South Africans, on the basis of the inherent (largely unspoken) assumption of racial inequality. This policy fed its own lie, of course, by both producing and protecting stark differences in living conditions between racial groups. On the other hand, education also helped to develop and reinforce ideological justifications to *support* the structural

violence of inequality. Apartheid education conducted what could be termed a 'cultural assault' on black dignity, which, in turn, functioned to justify structural violence.⁴ Cultural violence, well-known peace scholar Johan Galtung asserts, involves 'those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence ... that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence'.⁵ For him, generally, there is a causal relation from cultural, via structural, to direct violence.⁶

On Reconciliation Day 1995, with the TRC poised to begin its work, Nelson Mandela said:

Today we no longer vow our mutual destruction, but solemnly acknowledge our inter-dependence as free and equal citizens of our common Motherland. Today we re-affirm our solemn constitutional compact to live together on the basis of equality and mutual respect.⁷

Mandela's reconciliation project challenged the apartheid world-view head-on, and sought to invert it.⁸ Instead of being fundamentally irreconcilable, black and white were now viewed as fundamentally *reconcilable*. Moreover, reconciliation was seen as the only workable, and thus *realistic*, way forward.

What role did the country's TRC play in this regard? And what lessons could be learnt for other emerging democracies in Africa, especially in terms of dealing with a troubled past, and, more specifically, educating the youth about this past? South Africa's choice for a TRC to establish accountability for apartheid atrocities remains controversial, primarily because of its trading of prosecutorial justice for conditional amnesty and truth-telling. The TRC's aim with this compromise was to establish a national memory, a national truth-framework to assess the causes, motives and extent of human rights violations during apartheid, and to create a consensus to move decisively away from mass violence, whether in the form of apartheid with its structural and personal violence, ethnic cleansing or even genocide.⁹

In the wisdom of South Africa's founding fathers, a national consensus on past atrocities would be a prize worth making significant compromises for. What motivated this conviction? It had less to do with making it easy for perpetrators to secure stable elections, although obviously this also played a role. The larger objective was to create national resolve never again to tolerate the kind of violent oppression that was part and parcel of apartheid. The aim was to make historical denial impossible. When the IJR conducted a national survey at the conclusion of the TRC, widespread consensus existed that apartheid had been a crime against humanity: 94 per cent of black

South Africans agreed with this statement, as one could expect, but the surprise was that fully 73 per cent of white people – to whose benefit the whole system had been invented – agreed.¹⁰

Truth, understood as bipartisan national consensus on the need to move beyond a violent past, became South Africa's bulwark against victor's justice, as well as a relapse into apartheid. In October 1998, South Africa's TRC presented its Final Report to Government. In accepting the report, President Mandela said:

The Commission was not required to muster a definitive and comprehensive history of the past three decades. Nor was it expected to conjure up instant reconciliation. And it does not claim to have delivered these either. Its success in any case depends on how far all of us cooperated with it. Yet we are confident that it has contributed to the work in progress of laying the foundation of the edifice of reconciliation. *The further construction of that house of peace needs my hand. It needs your hand.*¹¹

The TRC indeed helped build the foundation of this 'house of peace'. It taught South Africa that justice, accountability and reconciliation go hand in hand. It taught that reconciliation has much to do with learning who South Africans were – as victims, as perpetrators, as beneficiaries – and who they wanted to become. Its work contained at least three important lessons that would provide a context for post-apartheid history education.

First, its choice to make victim narratives a central feature of its operations ensured a focus on the voices that, arguably, had least opportunity, historically, to be heard. In short, a measure of historical redress was needed.

Second, the Commission, for all of its good and all of its shortcomings, showed the need for, but also the immense difficulties in reaching, some sort of national understanding or consensus. No single person or group had the answer that would produce the common ground on which a future South African society would be built. In the final report, this consensus emerged in relation to an agreement about one incontrovertible historical fact that had been powerfully underscored by the TRC, namely that 'bad things had happened to people' and this should never be allowed to happen again. Although the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (NP) both (somewhat predictably for political parties) disagreed with findings about their culpability, an overwhelming consensus grew amongst ordinary South Africans that human rights violations happened on all sides of the political divide and that a government should never again be allowed to support such behaviour.¹²

Third, the Commission underscored the importance of dealing with the past in ways that enabled us to learn more about one another *as human beings*, and, in the process, to reach into the sphere of the deeply personal, the existential and the affective. Archbishop Desmond Tutu captured the need to delve deep when confronting the past when he exclaimed, ‘Bygones are never simply bygones. No one has the power to say: “Bygones be gone”! They never go. They almost always return to haunt us’.¹³ Everywhere stories emerged of personal hardship, immense suffering and irretrievable loss. Mostly, victims felt better for having had the opportunity to unburden themselves in public, or through written submissions. Of course no-one could return their loved ones, nor could the damage be undone; but, for the larger part, public vindication and acknowledgement seemed to have had a cathartic effect.

The TRC process also had many shortcomings, of course, not least of which was the lacklustre support it received from government, especially in following up on its many recommendations. But despite its shortcomings and mistakes, the TRC made a lasting contribution to how South Africans viewed and sought to deal with their shared, bitter past – a contribution that played a significant role in how educational institutions approached the same challenge.

THE TRAJECTORY OF HISTORY EDUCATION AFTER APARTHEID

Despite their optimism, South Africans understood from the start that overcoming apartheid would be a long and, at times, messy process. With this resolve, post-apartheid educational reform began with vigour as soon as the newly-elected democratic president, Nelson Mandela, took the oath of office. Within the new Constitutional framework, the South African government tackled an education system ravaged by apartheid on a range of fronts, including reunification of the education system, deracialising of schools, and implementing (albeit contentiously), an outcomes-based curriculum – since twice revised (in 1995 and 2013).¹⁴ All these tasks implied a dual focus: concrete material redress to black education that had been structurally violated for so long, but also a more intangible, subtle redress and acknowledgement of black dignity, identity and history.

Precisely with these latter challenges in mind, Professor Kader Asmal, South Africa’s second Minister of Education after apartheid, presided over the publication of the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy*¹⁵ and the *Report of the History and Archaeology Panel*¹⁶ in South Africa, in 2001.

Comprising some of the country's leading historians and education and heritage experts, both these reports recommended strengthening the teaching of history.

As a result, Asmal founded the South African History Project (SAHP). Working from the Ministerial office in Pretoria, this unit aimed to promote and enhance the quality and status of the learning and teaching of history in schools and in higher education institutions. This entailed: encouraging oral history initiatives at community level; strengthening history teaching within the framework of the post-apartheid National Curriculum Statement; and bringing together history educators and scholars to produce new materials and resources for schools to initiate activities that would resurrect interest in the study of history by young people.¹⁷ The Curriculum Review process resultant from these recommendations was led by Dr Linda Chisholm.

Eventually, the SAHP succeeded in forming national and provincial networks of history educators, communication and advocacy initiatives and round-tables in all provinces and in both rural and urban areas with: local civic organisations, teacher organisations, museums, heritage activists, parents, traditional leaders, oral history projects, local government, libraries and archives.¹⁸ An audit of available history books actually used in schools was also completed.

The work of this project was later, somewhat regrettably, integrated into the Department of Education under the new minister, Naledi Pandor, when material redress closely linked to the acquisition of so-called 'hard skills' began to dominate educational discourse in the country. Frightening studies began to emerge revealing dramatic – even catastrophic – deficiencies in these areas. Thus, the emphasis began to shift, quite rightly, to literacy, mathematics and numeracy. With public education spending ratios amongst the highest in the world, a significant redress of resources towards poor, largely black communities commenced, probably without precedent anywhere in the world. This was accompanied by high expectations of improved educational output, not least in black communities. Indeed, initially impressive infrastructural and statistical gains were made, of which perhaps the most important was the increase in access to primary education from around 60 per cent in 1996 to 100 per cent only a few years later.

However, despite the massive allocation shifts, the anticipated results in educational output remained worryingly absent. 'The overall performance of South African students is near the worst in the world in the important areas of numeracy and mathematics', wrote education expert Servaas van der Berg in 2004.¹⁹ 'It is now common cause', he continued, 'that financial

redress has not resulted in the equalisation of educational opportunities, and importantly, in enhancing the quality of black education'.²⁰ And so it was appropriate to focus energies and efforts on achieving better mathematics and science results. However, I would argue that this should never have happened at the cost of attention to the more subtle forms of historical redress, which formed such an important part of educational reform under Kader Asmal.

Disconcertingly, throughout this period, there was a steady drop in enrolment for history education throughout South Africa. It seems, therefore, that the renewed emphasis on maths and science came directly at the expense of an ongoing and thorough engagement with teaching South African youth about their past – an omission that may yet prove to be costly. Material redress is obviously important, but cannot be promoted as if in competition with more intangible modes of redress aimed at dignity, identity and history.²¹

It is in this context that I present three case studies drawn from different projects of the IJR,²² which all (in different ways) sought to stimulate the education of history in post-apartheid South Africa.²³ For the sake of this discussion, I present these projects as three examples of the kind of initiatives that have emerged in South African civil society, more generally, in response to some of the key lessons for history education evidenced in the work of the TRC, listed above.

At grassroots level, the IJR has pursued *historical redress* through a deliberate and sustained emphasis on oral history. At national level, the IJR has sought to help further the fledgling *shared understanding of the past* that emerged from the TRC, which would resist renewed politicisation of the past (namely, that bad things happened that should be avoided in the future). It did so by drawing on a large array of South Africans to continue producing history *together*, as they did during the TRC exercise, in order for the conversation to continue, and hopefully deepen, not least in classrooms across the country. Finally, it also sought to teach the TRC itself, *as history*, in classrooms, in an effort to counter the romanticisation of history that typically glosses over, denies or forgets past suffering in the name of 'moving on'.²⁴

I decided to present the captions as questions, rather than statements, reflecting the fact that these processes remain open-ended, unfinished and in many ways a work-in-progress. Thus, although strong indications exist to vindicate our belief in these approaches, I am not presenting them as conclusive proof of impact achieved, but rather in the spirit of an ongoing search for answers in 'building peace from within'.

PURSUING HISTORICAL REDRESS THROUGH ORAL HISTORY?

As a young Afrikaner boy, I remember how angry I became in history lessons when learning how the 'devious Dingaan murdered the noble Piet Retief'. Apartheid's version of cultural violence, in many and subtle ways, fed off historical narratives that portrayed white history in the first person, and sympathetically as the advance of civilisation, whereas black history was narrated in the third person, and painted chiefly as a force in need of being subjugated or civilised.

The TRC, in turn, illustrated (with varying degrees of success) the importance, at specific turning points in the life of a nation, of pausing at the victims' side, listening to their stories and affording them the human and civic dignity of reparation. Future history education will need to take into account this need for historical redress.

In response to traditional written history, well-researched and recorded, but often thoroughly one-sided, a prominent feature of post-apartheid society has been an extra-ordinary proliferation of oral history initiatives across society. Various institutions have identified this trend and worked to enable ever-wider civic participation in telling, recording and acknowledging those histories that were previously hidden, ignored, subjugated or forgotten. The aim has been, in some way or other, to give voice and agency to ordinary South Africans to give account of themselves, of their communities and their histories.²⁵

The IJR too, in line with the TRC's efforts to collect narratives from ordinary South Africans, began its own oral history work in 2003, under the leadership of Cecyl Esau. Esau is a veteran of the struggle against apartheid, who, together with other ANC leaders, had spent time 'on the island'.²⁶ Upon his release in 1990, Esau opted to work at community-level, rather than pursue a more high-profile career. He joined IJR in 2003 and began engaging different areas, spending roughly a year a-piece in: Langa, Constantia, Paarl and Hout Bay in the Western Cape; and then with San and Nama communities living in and around Rietfontein in the Northern Cape and Cradock in the Eastern Cape; then in Welkom in the Free State; followed by Potchefstroom in the North West province. Currently, his work continues in the Hartswater/Warrenton corridor in the Karoo. Gradually, over the past decade, a methodology developed that employs oral history as both an act of, and avenue towards, reconciliation.

Early on, the interventions involved training school-aged youth in basic oral history techniques, as well as providing some insight into a theme of particular interest to that specific community.²⁷ These training sessions

typically occurred over the course of a week or more, most often during school holidays. Graduates were provided with basic tools, such as recorders and/or cameras, and, with the ongoing guidance of local history teachers, they were encouraged to interview individuals in their communities who had first-hand knowledge of the local history in terms of a particular chosen theme of interest.²⁸ In Langa, the focus was on Pass Laws, since this established and dignified township was a hotbed of resistance against Pass Laws when they were implemented by the apartheid regime. In similar fashion: the Constantia, Hout Bay and Paarl communities focused on various dimensions of apartheid's geographical legacy of communities forced to live apart and who, as a result, are still living separately; the San communities focused on folk tales as a repository of communal wisdom; Welkom focused on the legacies of racialised education; and Potchefstroom focused on the impact of symbolism, including the changing of street and other names after apartheid. These interviews were analysed in follow-up working sessions. The integrated result, in the case of each of these communities, was a guide book for teachers, which was placed back into the education system.

The extraordinary enthusiasm with which this project was embraced and celebrated across South Africa relates to various outcomes at different levels. Apart from the obvious empowerment of young people through the skills that they and their teachers received, the engagement with community leaders resulted in fascinating inter-generational discussion and dialogue.²⁹ It led, in some cases, to a renewed local resolve to counter one-sided (often white) representations of communities, in favour of a more inclusive and just representation of community history in local town museums, tourist brochures, school curricula and memorialisation efforts.

Gradually too, these engagements have become the platform for the difficult, struggling, but vital, inter-racial conversations about heritage, history and identity, which are so essential to progress towards a more reconciled society. So, for example, in Langa, Xolile Mavata was interviewed by Aneesa Enos, a Grade 11 pupil at Rylands High School. She concluded:

The nightmare he was talking about was almost like a bad dream for him. But it still comes back if someone reminds him about it... Yet, today Xolile does not hate whites and doesn't want young children to be influenced by what happened in the past. ... Everyone should live in equality.³⁰

Such individual insights are at once compelling evidence of the project's impact and of its limitations. A real challenge has been to ensure the sustainability of the process beyond the direct involvement of an inspirational

project leader. Once Esau had left town, momentum was often lost, despite strident efforts to involve educators in the empowerment of the youth. Published teaching resources helped somewhat, but not as much as was hoped for. A major conclusion has since been that, for the sake of sustainability of impact, much greater focus will have to be placed on empowering educators, rather than on working with the youth directly.

Nonetheless, the exciting reversals of historical perceptions that were recorded in these communities constituted what I would call modest, yet decisive, steps towards *historical redress*. They provided a crucial corrective on history written and consumed almost exclusively from the white, European perspective, which served politically to justify apartheid, and moreover a history enforced very much in a top-down fashion. The oral histories discussed here came from voices traditionally ignored, but were also developed in ways that suggest a bottom-up approach that presents the complexities, questions and rich tapestry of lives on the ground for members of a new nation.

STIMULATING HISTORICAL CONSENSUS-SEEKING THROUGH TEACHER SUPPORT

The TRC emphasised the need for history education to make sure that it did not overlook the central fact that, in the war for and against apartheid, terrible things had happened to innocent victims on all sides of the political divide. The TRC therefore resisted the politicisation of atrocity in South Africa, making the point that, whilst apartheid was a crime against humanity never to be repeated, human rights violations could and did in fact happen on all sides. Thus, history education the TRC way would have to build common ground on the basis of a shared commitment to human rights – a methodology that would resist simplifying the conflict, by either completely exonerating one group at the expense of the other, or by denying that the basic cause of the conflict lay in a political system, called apartheid, that had been pronounced as being a crime against humanity by the United Nations.

As noted earlier, in September 2000, the Minister of Education requested a special History and Archaeology Panel to advise him on how best to strengthen the teaching of history in South African schools. The over-arching argument in the panel's report was that there is a need to promote the importance of studying the disciplines of history and archaeology within the South African schooling system.

With the help of an initial grant, the IJR responded by producing and publishing a series of books on South African history, compiled by a panel of distinguished historians and other experts and co-managed with the SAHP, called *Turning Points in History* and aimed primarily at Grades 10–12. The publications were launched by Minister Asmal in April 2004, precisely ten years into democracy.³¹ The teacher training materials and support aimed at promoting understanding, mutual and self-respect in schools and communities across South Africa – with a focus on human rights and its often complicated relationship with history teaching. The result has, in a number of ways, begun a series of changes in the way history was traditionally taught in South African schools.

The Department of Education undertook the dissemination of *Turning Points* to 7 500 secondary schools nationwide. It also requested further assistance from the IJR in the form of a second print-run,³² further teacher aids based on the books,³³ provincial training and impact evaluation seminars, the translation of materials into Afrikaans, and further materials of the same outstanding quality. In the course of these activities, the Institute forged a strong partnership with various directorates within the National Department of Education,³⁴ as well as with each of the nine provincial departments.

Minister Asmal noted in a foreword to the series that it ‘fosters insight, tolerance and civic participation in all South Africans who strive towards building an inclusive future from a divided past’.³⁵ The series of books extended historical studies both backward, before the arrival of colonials, and forward, beyond the demise of apartheid, involving multiple contributors from a range of backgrounds. Presenting history as a dialogue between perspectives, rather than the result of one particular perspective, *Turning Points* invited discussion and engagement amongst young democrats about a history that was deliberately sidelined under apartheid. ‘The series is premised on the inclusion of a wide variety of interpretations and explanations and encourage[s] learners and teachers to explore our rich past and to develop their own informed perspectives on our history’, observed Lunga Ngqengelele, a Department of Education spokesperson. The *Turning Points* project also caught the attention of other African countries, notably Rwanda, Sudan and Zimbabwe, as a possible model for history writing in those contexts. This has led to several discussions and exploratory workshops in these countries.

The success of the first series prompted the IJR to conduct two further series. The first was entitled *Turning Points in Human Rights*, again in five volumes, with a teacher guide, but this time telling the story of South

Africa's struggle for constitutional, gender, worker, land and youth rights.³⁶ One may be tempted to think that human rights arrived in 1994, in the suitcase of an international diplomat. This series showed that nothing was further from the truth. Treating people with dignity and respect is a value that South Africans of all generations cherish – a value that was fought for with exceptional dignity and courage. It is worth remembering that the *African Claims* document of 1943, with demands a comprehensive set of political, social and economic rights for African people in South Africa, preceded the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* by several years.³⁷

This series provided young South Africans in Grades 7–9 with insight into the story about their country's struggle for human rights. In doing so, the Institute addressed several objectives: to foster pride in and understanding of the struggle for human rights; to inspire ongoing civic participation; and to deepen young South Africans' understanding of one another across racial and other divides.³⁸

The third series, *Turning Points in Transition – The Story of South Africa's Road to Peace*, was produced in 2010 and focused on various turning points in South Africa's historic peace process. This volume, produced with funding support from Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (EED), combines five chapters respectively focusing on external conditions that enabled South Africa's peace, internal pressures that helped it along, the negotiation process and ultimately socio-political and economic transformation.³⁹

Turning Points featured prominently on provincial education departments' lists of recommended teacher resources for quite a while. In response to urgent demands from the Department of Education, the IJR conducted training seminars in all nine provinces, involving many hundreds of participants representing each teaching district in the country and covering more than 6 000 schools – by all accounts the first such initiative in democratic South Africa. Several provinces established ongoing working relations with the Institute that continue to exist today.⁴⁰ Training workshops revealed that, in many of the most far-flung communities in the rural Transkei, for example, or in the Northern Cape, teachers had indeed received *Turning Points* books and were using them to foster a critical historical awareness amongst youth. Books were also distributed to mobile libraries sponsored by government, exposing the most rural and isolated communities in South Africa to these educational materials.

Teaching history within the type of strong human rights framework that the *Turning Points* books provided could ensure a built-in resistance to the renewed politicisation of history, a trend that has blighted so many

post-conflict societies where yesterday's victims swiftly turned into today's oppressors. Working with many individuals from a diverse range of backgrounds in South Africa, the *Turning Points* project was one modest attempt to build these hesitant but vital points of shared understanding of South Africa's deeply divided past that would counter any re-politicisation of the past. It could only do this because it involved such a range of authors, educators, officials and learners – thousands, to be sure – from all walks of society. In subsequent reprints, the feedback of many of these participants led to continuous improvements. In recognition of this work, in 2008 the IJR received UNESCO's International Prize for Peace Education in Paris.⁴¹

DEALING WITH A TRAUMATISING, AND PRESENT, PAST IN A CLASSROOM SETTING?

So, along with the urge to resist the twin temptations of *ignoring historical redress* and *re-politicising history*, the TRC also taught history educators to make sure that they resisted the temptation of *romanticising history* by forgetting the terrible things that had happened to individuals in the past.

The Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein was built to commemorate the loss of women's lives during the South African wars. A driving force behind this memorial was Emily Hobhouse, an 'Englishwoman' who did much to alleviate the suffering of the Boer people during a war in which tens of thousands of women and children of all races died in British concentration camps. Hobhouse was entrusted to oversee the final design of the memorial that features a woman holding a child depicting the famous Pieta motif. She ordered Anton van Wouw to tear down his work several times. Her final assessment, in a letter dated 5 April 1912, stated:

The standing woman seems to me very good, full of feeling, and the sitting mother better, though still far from satisfactory. The child on her knee is nicely modelled, though still only appears to me as a sleeping child and neither sick nor dead. I suggest he should get leave to go to a hospital and study one or two dead figures.⁴²

Hobhouse asked that Mr van Wouw portray more faithfully 'broken-hearted womanhood, perishing childhood'.⁴³ The TRC made a similar plea never to forget the human cost, and lingering human impact at deeply personal and existential ways, of freedom and democracy in South Africa. To this end, history education would need to play a vital role as well.

In this spirit, the TRC not only generated historical consensus through its own findings, but also became a part of history itself and, as such, a powerful testimony to the effects of denying South Africa's extreme levels of trauma that continues to render the country one of the world's most violent. Indeed, the various new fault lines across which violence occurs – gender, nationality, income, ethnicity – all bear testimony to levels of profound 'woundedness' that continue to haunt society.⁴⁴

With this in mind, the IJR contracted award-winning journalist Max du Preez to produce a series of powerful short documentaries about the TRC for the education system. Targeting both the history and life orientation subject areas (to ensure a wider reach amongst students), Du Preez created twelve documentaries, in a series called *Special Report*, that he produced and presented throughout the life of the TRC. It became the most watched documentary yet on South African television, as the nation caught up each Sunday evening with the week's developments at the TRC. Now, nearly a decade later, Du Preez shared the concern that while the TRC was taught across the world, at both secondary and tertiary institutions, in South Africa it was hardly taught at all.

After completion of the set, called *Truth, Justice, Memory*, the IJR convened a series of introductory meetings with the country's top curriculum officials to evaluate the product and discuss its possible integration into the curriculum (which in fact made provision for the study of the TRC, although anecdotal evidence suggested that this was seldom followed through on). These meetings were deeply emotional and radically altered implementation plans. Although there was agreement on the importance of both the content and the quality of the product, the documentaries triggered such emotional responses amongst the participants that meetings needed had to be halted on several occasions and counselling offered. The DVDs were deliberately designed not to be too graphic – and yet it was precisely the intention of the TRC to undermine sanitised versions of history, and therefore to confront 'the truth', however horrific it turned out to be.⁴⁵ More emotionally disturbing, though, were the ways in which personal memories of suffering or humiliation under apartheid were evoked amongst these senior officials.

This experience motivated the Institute to undertake an extended research and experiential learning process to understand how educators could be best equipped to teach sensitive material such as history and politics after conflict. This resulted in a pilot project with educators in eight carefully-selected schools from a range of backgrounds to work out if and how this material could be taught. Outcomes of this experiential learning process were subsequently published, and contained detailed suggestions

about preparatory measures needed to show this and other similar material in the classrooms. The process underscored the importance of dealing with the deeply-held trauma across society, but also of ensuring that the TRC scope into the horrors of the past is not somehow forgotten or buried, as South Africa moves ahead.

This project again emphasised the importance of history educators, and the enormous challenges faced by such individuals. Often trained and taught under a previous dispensation, these are people who themselves experience all the insecurities, biases and fears associated with massive social change. There is agreement that democracies should encourage freedom of thought, teach critical thinking skills and open-minded, dispassionate education. Yet, how is this done when the average educator may find the entire experience bewildering and even disempowering?

In South Africa, experts now realise that they had massively under-estimated the extent to which educators need hands-on support and resources, not only to do their job properly, but to become effective conduits of the values associated with reconciliation and justice. More often than not, society failed its educators gravely in this regard. Ambitious efforts to produce a state-of-the-art outcomes-based curriculum have therefore been decidedly muted. Seventeen years on, as the first generation that entered schools in the democratic era leave school, our education system still seems to be unable to deliver the education that was fought for by so many.

CONCLUSION: BREAKING THE INEQUALITY CYCLE THROUGH EDUCATION

Some of the key strategic questions that the IJR has been wrestling with are: What would it take for an education system to become a force in unlearning the hatred of the past? How can it be shaped to help raise awareness of our inter-connected destinies, and hence the need for open exchange and cooperation?

It is this challenge we now face as we continue to seek ways to educate a new generation in the ways of reconciliation, and perhaps more importantly, to allow them to teach us their new ways. It is safe, almost trite, to say that an education system that performs its core function well – namely to produce educated and skilled citizens from all backgrounds and persuasions – is making the best possible contribution to reconciliation and social justice. This would indeed be the most powerful antidote to any form of divisionism, oppression or exclusion – simply educating the young effectively to bridge historical divisions in South Africa.

Earlier, I identified three lessons from the TRC experience specific to history education as peace education, namely the importance of redress, the relevance of preventing re-politicisation of the past and the importance of confronting, head-on, the horrors of the past, so as to prevent a cheap romanticisation of a peace that cost so many lives. In response, I described three sets of projects launched by the IJR, with mixed results, to stimulate history education as peace education. First, in an effort to stimulate historical redress, a wide range of oral history projects were launched in communities across South Africa. Many positive results were recorded, including skilling of participants, but, more intangibly, also: an increase in in-depth inter-generational dialogue; redress in skewed interpretations of local history; deepened inter-racial understanding; the production of imaginative teaching resources; and so forth. However, sustainability beyond the immediate presence of the IJR remained a problem, and this has led to a much sharper focus on what it would take to create local champions of oral history as a means for reconciliation – constituted perhaps as a mixed, representative group of educators locally.

A second generation of projects related to a range of *Turning Points* products, produced with an unprecedented level of participation by experts and citizens from across society. The project went beyond the production of these three series, into developing teaching aides aligned with the newly published curricular principles at the time, and actively raising funds for, and facilitating the distribution of these resources to most secondary schools in South Africa. Beyond this, the project trained many hundreds of history experts from the education department (mostly from the networks built by the SAHP). Outcomes were the first truly representative set of handbooks covering the entire span of Southern Africa history after apartheid, and (as one amongst many others) furthering and deepening the conversation begun by the TRC about South Africa's past. Thousands of books found their way to the schools, and hundreds of curriculum advisers were empowered to teach history according to the new curricular guidelines.

A major drawback of the project, however, was the dwindling number of history students, not least in minority groups, who preferred the 'hard skills' subjects of maths and science. It seems, then, that the explicit linking of peace education to history education has at least this very important limitation: that it will reach a relatively small, and perhaps dwindling, number of students. The project was also heavily dependent on external funding, and the resources may, in retrospect, have been too expensive for the average school to afford, let alone individual learners.⁴⁶

A third generation of IJR projects have related to addressing trauma, racial reconciliation and residual feelings from the apartheid era more directly, through the development of state-of-the-art multi-media resources about the TRC process. Despite delivering excellent products, an early realisation related to the widespread trauma that affects so many individuals – and the education system was not exempt from this. Even if innovative historical material is produced in a way that includes and empowers all citizens, and even if educators are taken by the hand and equipped to teach the material, the question of deep-seated trauma, and the danger of unleashing emotions – both within the educator and the learners – that are not containable within a classroom setting, remain ever-real risks.

Allow me, finally, a brief thought on the wider, philosophical issue at stake when confronted with whether or not, and how, to engage a particularly difficult past. Friedrich Nietzsche's distinction between 'antiquarian', 'monumental' and 'critical' history indicates different 'uses of the past' more generally.⁴⁷

Whereas antiquarian history reveres and preserves the past for its own sake, the monumental approach to the past has typically been concerned with 'celebrating the greatness and glory of the past', while critical history is concerned with 'accountability for the past'.⁴⁸ Of these, a critical history would be most suited to general conceptions of transitional justice, not least to the extent that it is shaped by human rights discourse. However, Nietzsche claimed that there is also a place for a monumental past, if the past is to be overcome.⁴⁹ This would apply, for example, to the recognised need for reconciling a post-conflict society through appropriate symbolism and memorialisation efforts – by convincing opposing groups to accept a new, common symbolic order rooted in a celebrated past.⁵⁰ Nietzsche described this as 'an attempt to give oneself, as it were *a posteriori*, a past in which one would like to originate, in opposition to that in which one did originate in – always a dangerous attempt, because it is so hard to know the limits to denial of the past'.⁵¹

However, Nietzsche importantly and provocatively also warned against 'an excess of history', in the sense of being dominated by a past that cannot be forgotten, a condition that can become life-threatening, and which he elsewhere calls 'a malady of history'.⁵² The question is, therefore, how to develop a monumental history, ensuring that history is not 'denied', while at the same time avoiding 'an excess of history', in the sense of being dominated by that past. This is in line with what Paul Ricoeur refers to as the twin dangers of either having 'too much memory' or of having a 'lack of memory'. The former occurs when post-conflict societies are 'haunted by

the recollection of the humiliation they suffered in a distant past as well as by that of glory past'. The latter, on the other hand, is the result of such societies refusing to acknowledge the past, 'as if they were fleeing from an obsession with their own past'.⁵³

To return to South Africa, history education would thus have to counter revisionism, as well as the potential re-politicisation and romanticisation of South Africa's difficult past. The aim must be to help shape a society inclusive of all South Africa's many peoples and perspectives. It needs to tread the fine line between telling the stories of division and subjugation, without rekindling resentment or further denial. This, in turn, implies a multi-form and multi-perspective approach to history production in schools, and informal education and tertiary settings.

In short, form matters as much as content and South Africans will need to learn to write and teach history as if people across all divisions really matter. African governments, more broadly, need to invest in educating young scholars to study the scads of artefacts and unexamined records scattered about the continent, which are essential to developing inclusive historical narratives. In this way, young history scholars will be able to articulate the unique historical record of a continent and its people.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 'Black' is used inclusively in this essay to designate all individuals who were systematically discriminated against by apartheid. 'White' is used to designate beneficiaries of, and perpetrators operating in the name of, apartheid. These terms are used as socio-political constructs, rather than essential biological categories. For an illuminating discussion of the role of these concepts in South African historiography, see: Neville Alexander, 2002. *An ordinary country: Issues in the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press. pp.21f.
- 2 As apartheid principles became entrenched, there was reduced spending on education for blacks as the Minister for Native Affairs in the 1950s, Hendrik Verwoerd, said, 'The school must equip a black pupil to meet the demands which South Africa will impose upon him. There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the levels of certain forms of labour. What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is absurd.' See: Clark, N. L. and Worger, W. H., 2004. *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*. New York: Routledge, 2013. pp.45–48.

- 3 This did not change apartheid's fundamental philosophical assumptions about one of the most basic existential realities in Southern Africa, namely that black and white depended on one another in many and fundamental ways for their survival and prosperity. Political systems that are not based on, but instead seek to contradict such obvious intuitive realities, are, of course, heavily dependent on ideology. That which looks unjustifiably stupid to ordinary citizens has to be justified, somehow.
- 4 'Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right – or at least not wrong,' writes Galtung.
- 5 Galtung, J. 1990. Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), p.291.
- 6 Galtung, J. 1990 'Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3) p.295.
- 7 Please see <http://anc.org.za/show.php?id=3646> [Accessed 17 April 2013].
- 8 Apartheid, unworkable and immoral as it was, became the social norm in South Africa, not least because of its ambitious efforts to institutionalise its vision at all levels of society. Most intractably, apartheid left racial groups physically separated in racially-homogenous neighbourhoods, communities and social institutions, including educational institutions.
- 9 To this end, the notion of conditional amnesty was developed to entice perpetrators to come forward and tell all. The deal was: help us establish as complete as possible a picture of the past to the best of your ability and you will get amnesty. To victims it was said: help society to establish as complete as possible a picture of the past, and you will get reparation. It also invited institutions to help build this picture. Perhaps this is why, in the same study, 72 per cent of black South Africans agreed with amnesty being extended to perpetrators. Looking back, the conditional amnesty dispensation was 'profoundly distinct' from blanket amnesty or impunity, as Neil Kritz recently wrote. [Kritz, N., 2002. 'Where we are and how we got here: An overview of developments in the search for justice and reconciliation', in Henkin, A. H. (ed.), 2002. *The legacy of abuse: Confronting the past, facing the future*. New York: The Aspen Institute. p.34.] Perpetrator testimonies supported and vindicated victims' firm belief in the horror in apartheid, and perhaps even more importantly, their commitment – as those who understood far better than their white counterparts what such violence meant – never to have this again in their beautiful land.
- 10 Gibson, J. and Macdonald, H., 2001. *Truth –Yes, Reconciliation –Maybe: South Africans judge the truth and reconciliation process*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. For more information about this and other studies visit www.ijr.org.za.
- 11 Please see <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/statement-president-mandela-receiving-report-trc> [Accessed 21 March 2014].

- 12 Of course, this is not to deny that the struggle against apartheid had been 'a just war', or that apartheid itself had been a crime against humanity as the United Nations determined many years before. In fact, the TRC was so adamant about declaring apartheid a crime against humanity, and the struggle against it a just war, that it prompted one of its own commissioners, Wynand Malan, to issue a minority report in which it accuses the TRC of acting outside its own mandate. It seems that he was afraid that the pendulum was swinging too much to the other side – that whereas apartheid painted history one way, the TRC was now painting it the other way. It seems Malan was saying that two wrongs did not make a right. Although this is an obviously important point, and one with real danger in conflict – where often one injustice is reversed by another, through so-called 'victor's justice' – nonetheless, the larger group of Commissioners felt it was important that the point about atrocities that happened on all sides should be done in the larger historical context of the fight for democracy and freedom for the majority of South African citizens.
- 13 Archbishop Desmond Tutu interview by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, in *Truth, justice and memory: A DVD series on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2012.
- 14 Van der Berg, S., 2004. 'Education: The crisis in schooling', in *The transformation audit*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. p.30.
- 15 Please see <http://www.dhet.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=2vv9jRcRMOQ%3D&tabid=92&mid=495> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- 16 The Panel was established in 2000 under the chairpersonship of Njabulo Ndebele, with prominent academics like Pallo Jordan, Andre Odendaal, Bill Nasson and others. Available at file:///C:/Users/Fdutoit/Downloads/hapanelr.pdf [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- 17 Publications include an update of the UNESCO *General history of Africa*, and the 6-volume series *Turning points in South African history*, in collaboration with the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, winner of the UNESCO Prize for Peace Education 2008. It also collaborated with the Parliamentary Millennium Project on perspectives on Africa, and with the South African History Online (SAHO).
- 18 The project managed to achieve its strategic aims under the direction of its CEO, June Bam, and the Chair of the Ministerial Committee, Yonah Seleti. Committee members included: historians Luli Callinicos, Uma Mesthrie-Dhupelia, Sifiso Ndlovu, Nomathamsanqa Tisani, Albert Grundlingh, Jeff Guy and Jeff Pieres; archaeologist Amanda Esterhuysen; and a teacher, Lindi Nqonji.
- 19 Van der Berg, S., 2004, p.29.
- 20 Arguably the most important role education could ever play in addressing inequality would be simply: to be its best self, to do what it was designed and

supposed to do in the first place – namely to empower the previously disempowered to take up their newfound rights in effective and transformative ways; but also to socialise all, including beneficiaries of the past, into a new society in line with the Constitution. There is widespread agreement that, at this level, the South African education system has under-performed significantly.

- 21 Lingering racism and xenophobia, a disquieting rise in ethnic chauvinism and persistent extreme levels of gender violence seem to suggest that South Africa has not avoided the dangers associated with this reductionism, much as a post-apartheid education policy had little choice but to make material redress a major priority. South Africa today is a country of sharp and sometimes overwhelming paradox. Few would contest that adopting reconciliation, the pragmatism of inter-dependence, and systematically replacing apartheid with this approach across the length and breadth of society, has left us more secure and more prosperous than ever before. Yet, these legal and political achievements have been marked by a lack of concomitant social, economic and psychological change – with exclusion, poverty and corruption continuing to make South Africa a still-separated society. Nowhere is this more evident than in the sphere of education. An under-performing education system continues to be a major obstacle to increased employment in a labour market that is strongly skills-biased. At present, less than 20 per cent of South Africa's labour force is in possession of a tertiary qualification (degree or certificate). Despite significant budget allocations (education still remains the single largest item of government expenditure), progress has been slow. While access to educational institutions has increased, the quality of outcomes remains disappointing when compared to the country's emerging market peers, but also when measured against that of several other African states.
- 22 As the TRC was nearing its end, some of its members began to contemplate the massive tasks related to (social) justice and reconciliation that lay ahead. With this mind, Archbishop Tutu, TRC Director of Research Charles Villa-Vicencio and others, including Jakes Gerwel, who was the Director of Nelson Mandela's Presidential office, set up the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR). The Institute positioned itself as a civic facilitator of deliberative democracy, arguing that the transformation of society would require ongoing consensus-building and collaboration, not least between civil society and government, of course, without the former ceding independence. Several commissioners joined the IJR as board members and in various other capacities. These included Alex Boraine, Dumisa Ntzebesa, Glenda Wildschut and Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela. Other founding board members included Hugh Corder, Jeremy Sarkin, Don Foster, Lovell Fernandez, Lourens Du Plessis, Justice Richard Goldstone, Antjie Krog, Louise Asmal and Spiwo Xapile. Brian O'Connel succeeded Gerwel as Chairperson of

- the Board in 2008. Today, the Institute has a team of approximately 35 staff. For more information, visit www.ijr.org.za.
- 23 These cases are meant to be read as examples of the kinds of civic response to the needs, in relation to history education, as identified and exemplified by the TRC. These were not unique. Many excellent initiatives have been developed by a range of actors and institutions. However, I have chosen to write about initiatives with which I am familiar.
 - 24 Nietzsche, F., (1873–76). *Untimely meditations* Breazeale, D. (ed.), 1999 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - 25 For example, the University of Cape Town Centre for Popular Memory, the Nelson Mandela Foundation, the South African History Archives, the South African History Project, South African History Online, the District Six Museum, the Apartheid Museum and many others.
 - 26 This is a colloquial expression indicating incarceration on Robben Island.
 - 27 See Esau, C., 2009. *Making apartheid history – my contribution*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
 - 28 Formal training included explaining popular conceptions of oral history, guiding trainees through pre-interview and interview phases, compiling an interview guide, selecting interviewees, conducting the actual interview process, transcription, post-interview procedures, monitoring and evaluation, as well as developing multi-media resources, based on the findings of the interviews.
 - 29 These inter-generational conversations are taken further by, inter alia, the IJR's *Ashley Kriel Youth Development Programme*, as well as the *Memory, Arts and Culture* and *Community Healing* projects. The work in the formal education system is run by the Institute's *Education for Reconciliation* project.
 - 30 Esau, C., 2009, p.75.
 - 31 The *Turning Points* project was managed by the author, together with June Bam. The project Board was chaired by Bill Nassan and included a diverse selection of the foremost historians in South Africa, including geologist Amanda Esterhuyse, Duncan Hindle (Director-General of Education), Zubeida Jaffer (journalist and struggle veteran), as well as historians Albert Grundlingh, Yonah Seleti and Maanda Mulaudzi. Karin Pampallis acted as series editor with Rob Sieborger, who produced the teachers' guide and conducted many of the subsequent training sessions across the country.
 - 32 70 000 copies of the first run had been depleted.
 - 33 These included site indexes, glossaries, learning programmes and overviews, all compiled on an electronic storage facility.
 - 34 Primarily the Race and Values unit, under the astute leadership of Granville Whittle.

- 35 Asmal, K., 2004. 'Foreword', in *Turning points in history*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- 36 The series, published by IJR in 2009, included contributions by Barney Pitso, Leon Wessels, Zak Yacoob, Hugh Corder, Charles Villa-Vicencio, Nomathamsanqa Tisani, Drusilla Yekela, Lungisile Ntzebeza, Ruth Hall and Thembele Kepe, Luli Callinicos, Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, Nicole Ulrich, Noor Nieftegodi, Gairrona Paleker, Zuleiga Adams, Graeme Bloch, Pumla Dineo Gqola, Julie Wells and Shamil Jeppie.
- 37 Colonialism, and later apartheid, denied Africans human rights in their country of birth, as did certain elements in our cultural and political heritage. Against these forces, women and men, young and old, black and white struggled. Admittedly, the struggle was not always called a struggle *for human rights*, but it was always about the right to be treated equally and with respect and dignity. In 1994, for the first time in South Africa's history, the state officially recognised the equal rights of all people. South Africa's young democracy has not yet achieved acceptable levels of social and economic equality. Rich and poor now have a say in how the country pursues the ideal of equality. Yet, poor and rich people continue to experience life in very different ways. In many ways, the struggle for human rights therefore continues.
- 38 The second series aimed to promote civic participation amongst younger high school learners and contained a simplified and abbreviated version of the main series, as well as learning programmes and support material for educators. It was a substantial publication that could stand on its own or be used in conjunction with the series. It broke new ground in teaching civic participation through the rubric of major international and local human rights instruments, such as the historic *African Claims Document*, the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *African Charter for Human and People's Rights*, and the *South African Bill of Human Rights*. This publication enabled the project to reach the crucial Grades 7–9 market (the level at which most South African youth encounter history as a subject in schools), promoting a sense of civic responsibility, agency and involvement – and drawing on lessons from the fight for human rights.
- 39 The series was edited by Chris Saunders, with chapter contributions by Fanie du Toit, Shuvai Nyoni, Jay Naidoo, Chris Saunders, Shameela Seedat, Judith February and Mills Soko.
- 40 Written participant evaluation rated Institute materials, as well as the training sessions, with an average score of over 90 per cent. It also confirmed that materials would indeed be used in classrooms. Numerous requests for Afrikaans translations (as the second language in which matriculation examinations are conducted) of the *Turning Points* material were received. An Afrikaans

translation of twelve teaching modules was completed, and, together with the English version, posted on the Institute website for easy access. A complete translation of the series was published in June 2006.

- 41 The aim of the Prize is 'to promote all forms of action designed to construct the "defences of peace in the minds of men" by both individuals and institutions. It is bestowed every two years within the framework of the celebrations of the International Day of Peace, in recognition of outstanding activities in the cause of peace, and in the spirit of UNESCO's Constitution and the United Nations Charter.' UNESCO director-general Koïchiro Matsuura presented the prize in recognition of IJR's 'outstanding efforts in building sustainable reconciliation through education, and in addressing systemic injustice in Africa.' The Institute's nomination was presented by the South African Department of Education. See <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001841/184164e.pdf> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- 42 Snyman, J., 2000. 'Ways of remembering', in Villa-Vicencio, C. (ed), 2000. *Transcending a century of injustice – A one-day conference held on 11 May 2000 at the Centre for the Book, Cape Town, on the occasion of the launch of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. p.30.
- 43 Snyman, J., 2000, p.30.
- 44 For example, for a discussion of some of these social phenomena, see Ramphele, M., 2008. *Laying ghosts to rest: Dilemmas of the transformation of South Africa*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- 45 These documentaries have since been used extensively at secondary and tertiary levels across the world, including in training done in South African schools by the NGO Shiyaka and others.
- 46 On the other hand, of course the colourful and well-designed books were attractive to look at and work from.
- 47 Nietzsche, F., 1999.
- 48 Du Toit, F. 2011. Reconciliation and Transitional Justice: The Case of Rwanda's Gacaca Courts. 'The Truth & Reconciliation Commission,' p.3.
- 49 Du Toit, F. 2011. Reconciliation and Transitional Justice: The Case of Rwanda's Gacaca Courts. 'The Truth & Reconciliation Commission,' p.3.
- 50 See the following articles that assert the need for memorialisation and symbolic reconstruction in the Rwandan context: Longman, T. and Rutagengwa, T. 2004. 'Memory, Identity and Community in Rwanda,' Eric Stover (ed.) in *My Neighbour, My Enemy*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press p.177.; Cobban, H. 2002. 'The Legacies of Collective Violence' *Boston Review*.; Lemarchand, R. 2000 'Coming to terms with the Past'.; *L'Observatoire de l'Afrique Centrale*, 3(27) Newbury,

- C., 1988.; Ethnicity and the politics of history in Rwanda. *Africa Today*, 45(1), pp.7–25.
- 51 As quoted in Du Toit, F. 2011. Reconciliation and Transitional Justice: The Case of Rwanda's Gacaca Courts. 'The Truth & Reconciliation Commission,' p.4.
- 52 Nietzsche, F., 1999., pp.64, 102, 109.
- 53 Ricoeur, P., 2000. 'Can Forgiveness Heal?', in Opdebeeck, H. J. (ed.), 2000. *The foundation and application of moral philosophy*. Leuven: Peeters. pp.31f.

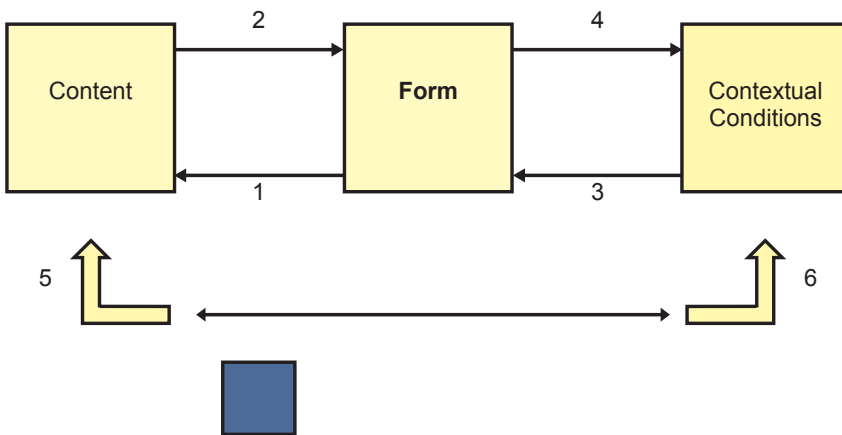
Contextual Specificity in Peace Education

Magnus Haavelsrud

INTRODUCTION

In the tradition of peace education, an important consideration is that it should be context-specific, as discussed in the introduction to this book.¹ I shall focus on this consideration, as it relates to both the question of what content is to be included in peace education and of which methods to use. The problematique can be visualised as in Figure 4.1.²

Figure 4.1: Interrelations between content, form and contextual conditions



The six relationships noted in Figure 4.1 point out the complexity involved in designing peace education, because preferred content and communication forms need to be selected on the basis of an analysis of contextual conditions. Such analysis will give answers as to the quality of contextual conditions, ranging from the best to the worst – and, in the latter case, those in need of transformation. Contextual conditions are not only external to the human mind, but contribute, through socialisation, to knowledge, attitudes and will to act. Experiential learning is highly dependent upon contextual conditions, and therefore this learning is an important content

to be recognised in peace education. It is also a source for understanding learners' capacity for participatory communication forms in peace education.

When Freire defines conscientisation as *learning to perceive* social, political, cultural and economic contradictions and *acting* with the purpose of eliminating such contradictions, he accepts the imperative of not only understanding, but respecting subjective views. I agree with this premise and shall therefore explore, in this chapter, how subjective orientations are based in the experiences of people in relation to informal, non-formal and formal learning. What is learned in the family and community and from peers is an important part of socialisation – especially in the first years of the child – and this learning is seen by social scientists as shaping the *frame* of an individual – or *habitus*, as Bourdieu³ would name it. Non-formal sources, such as mass media and religion, may also contribute significantly to a person's understanding of the world. Finally, formal education systems have an impact not only through what is included in the curriculum, but also through what is not included. Learning experiences of any kind and in any venue are therefore educative because of their importance in forming subjective orientations to understanding objective reality.

It is to be expected that both content and forms of communication vary significantly in these three types of education systems, in African contexts as well as in any other world region. It may be that variation between the three types of education is quite significant in African contexts, due to the long history of colonisation in large parts of the continent, and also to more recent experiences, with rapid global changes involving structural adjustments and globalisation. Transition from oppressive regimes to liberation and democracy has been another challenging phenomenon to deal with in the three types of education systems in many African contexts.

In this chapter, I shall utilise insights drawn from literature, rather than from academic research, in the analysis of contextual specificities describing protagonists' experiential learnings. I shall select recently published novels by young South African authors, as I am interested in their descriptions of contextual conditions in the transition from apartheid to democracy. With this methodology, it is expected that generative themes⁴ will be identified – themes that might serve as guidelines for context-specific content preferences in peace education. It is also expected: that narratives will include descriptions of protagonists' communication forms and preferences, based on specific cultures; and that these young authors will be helpful in understanding the perception of the subject's/learner's concerns in the time period from the transition from apartheid to democracy up until the present.

It is therefore recognised in this chapter that present issues and problems are also rooted in the contextual conditions of the past.

CONTEXTUAL CONDITIONS IN MODERNITY AND MODERNITY'S 'OTHER'

The stories I have selected here, as told by young South African authors, describe recent contextual conditions of growing up in either modern or the traditional cultures, and also what might happen when the modern and the traditional meet. I have selected literature that paints a picture of contemporary realities that demonstrate the need for sensitivity to and recognition of cultures, which are often regarded by modernisation theorists as obstacles to development. A critique of development as being limited to the economic sector calls for *transformation by enlargement*, in which more voices – even subjugated knowledge – are included in a development discourse that is guided by ideals of cognitive justice.⁵ The incumbent of the South African Research Chair in Development Education at the University of South Africa, Professor Odora Hoppers, puts it this way:

If a great deal of what has been limiting and destructive about 'development' stems from its carrying, as a central part of its meaning (and even in some cases as its whole meaning), 'economic growth', and if promoting 'economic growth' means subjecting traditional culturally determined behavior to a process of 'modernisation' that is supposed to create the institutional conditions favourable for economic growth, then talking about 'enlargement', *taking a larger view*, means 'including modernity's other'.⁶

Two of the selected stories are written by Kopano Matlwa, who was 22 years old when her book, *Coconut: A novel*, was published in 2007. Two stories are written by K. Sello Duiker, who was 26 when the book about the Cape Town urchin, *Azura*, was published in 2000. The last story, set in Soweto in the 1980s, demonstrates how this recent past lingers on at present when the author, Redi Thlabi, revisits her life as an 11-year-old girl under the demanding book title, *Endings & beginnings: a story of healing*. The five stories selected are:

- Kopano Matlwa's narrative about growing up in modernity with a family history of living in a township: 'Rich, pampered Ofilwe and her brother Tshepo are swiftly losing their culture. Ofilwe struggles to fit into a privileged but soulless world that opens its doors to them as quickly as

it shuts them. Hers is the story of a generation that is given everything, only to fall apart under the weight of history and expectation'.⁷

- Matlwa's story of a young girl commuting between a township and a big city: 'Hip, sassy Fiks is an ambitious go-getter from the township, desperate to leave her vicious past behind and embrace the glossy sophistication she knows only from magazines. But the golden streets of modern Jozi prove more complicated and unforgiving than even she is prepared for, threatening to destroy her carefully constructed world at every turn'.⁸
- Sello Duiker's story of an orphaned urchin in a modern big city: 'My name is Azura. Ah-zoo-ray. That's how you say it. My mom gave me that name. It's the only thing I have left from her. I have blue eyes and a dark skin. I'm used to people staring at me, mostly grown-ups ... I live alone. The streets of Sea Point are my home. But I'm almost a man, I'm nearly thirteen years old'.⁹
- Duiker's novel about growing up in a township of modernity's 'Other', in which African myth and folklore merge with everyday township life.¹⁰
- Redi Tlabi's personal story about revisiting her Soweto childhood experiences when, as an 11-year-old and two years after the death of her father, '... she meets the handsome, charming and smooth Mabegzo. A rumoured gangster, murderer and rapist, he is a veritable "jack roller" of the neighbourhood. Against her family's wishes, she develops a strong connection to him. Redi herself doesn't understand why she is drawn to Mabegzo and why, at eleven, she feels a brokenness that only Mabegzo can fix ... Through interviews and deep emotional conversations with family, friends and those who knew him, Redi finally gets to fit together the pieces of the puzzle that was Mabegzo. Her revelations do not in any way excuse who and what he was, but they go a long way in shedding light on the scourge that is violence in our societies and why young black men are consumed by anger'.¹¹

GROWING UP IN MODERNITY

This first story describes how Ofilwe, a black girl, experiences growing up in a predominantly white suburb after moving from a township.¹² We take part in her reflections on daily life at home, in school, in church and in the community, from when she is eight-years-old until Grade 10. Her thoughts are gems in any conflict research, splendidly demonstrated in this narrative entitled *Coconut: a novel*. As Ofilwe joins her family for church and lunch in

the Silver Spoon Café, or when she goes to the pharmacy with her mother, her thoughts digress to many things, including her problematic experience of growing up in a predominantly white suburb with black parents who moved from a township. Ofilwe would like to know more about their history, which she thinks *must have been different from the history of the white people*. Everybody seems to know what happens to the white people's royals (like Princess Diana), whereas their own royals are invisible – even though she feels that they are still in their thoughts when her family is accompanied by their own shadows as they walk to their car from the 'soaring walls of the church' after mass.

She even thinks about thinking, and believes that people do not consciously decide to engage in thought, concluding that perhaps 'thought is as uninspiringly simple as an intrapersonal extension of the interpersonal communication we engage in, in our day to days'.¹³ So this internal communication, called thinking, may be understood as the construction of a bridge between the inner and the outer. The question remains whether the internal bridgehead is supported by an outer head – a project of integration of the human mind with the world.

The author's craft in observing, imagining and describing everyday communications or interactions, may be embedded in an ability to catch moments of significance, in which those communications reveal, not only what is communicated, but also how and why. It also reveals what is *not* communicated and why. Such revelations may tell us how specific contextual conditions have been reproduced and become visible in how people talk to each other.

This is a fascinating study of Ofilwe living in Little Valley Country Estate – a hated and gated cage, as she experiences it – where there are no groups of 'teenage girls in bright T-shirts, old torn jeans and peak caps ... sitting on the front lawn pointing and gossiping about guys that walk past the gates of their homes'.¹⁴ Growing up in a white suburb represents discontinuity with the socialisation into township culture and history. Extensive resocialisation is needed, in which manners, language, likes and dislikes all have to change – not only for Ofilwe, but for all youngsters of parents moving up the social ladder away from township or rural conditions, i.e. modernity's 'Other'. Behind, they are moving further and further away from their own history, and ahead is great uncertainty. Bridging modernity and its 'Other' is quite a challenge, if it is correct that:

You will find, Ofilwe, that the people you strive so hard to be like will one day reject you because as much as you may pretend, you are not one of their own.

Then you will turn back, but there too you will find no acceptance, for those you once rejected will no longer recognize the thing you have become. So far, too far to return. So much, too much you have changed. Stuck between two worlds, shunned by both.¹⁵

This gap between the two worlds ends up in sadness and lack of continuity. Ofilwe gives up on the goal of finding answers to why things are like this. For instance, her last Thanksgiving ceremony is her last memory of her father's and mother's families being together. That was when her father's mother arrived in a gold Mercedes-Benz 380SE, while her other grandmother spent the night before the party helping to prepare traditional beer and also 'blood of an animal and motsoko, to our ancestors as a token of our appreciation for the good fortune that has fallen on our family'.¹⁶ Still she decides to accept her family of four as it is, including her brother Tshepo, who is three years older and attending a private school for boys only. But she has many troubling thoughts about this life of the new black middle class in a white suburb.

COMMUNICATING BETWEEN MODERNITY AND MODERNITY'S 'OTHER'

In *Coconut: a novel*,¹⁷ the main character in Part 2 is an orphaned black girl who has lost her parents and is living with an uncle. When Fiks turns 13, she decides to sleep on the concrete floor and leave her uncle alone in bed. For years she has been – in his unhappy moments, as the author expresses it – masturbating him to sleep in their shared bed. Finally she learns, from the organisation Childline Ousies when they visit her school, that this is wrong. This and other relationship facts experienced in her childhood accumulate until she begins to hate the hole – or the squalor of the township – and begins to adore the cleanliness and style to be found elsewhere. The problem is that 'elsewhere' is the world of the white people – an uncomfortable train or taxi ride away from home. This is where Fiks has a job in the Silver Spoon Café, until Miss Becky, the white owner, unjustifiably fires her, blaming her – rather than the white customers – for their smoking in a non-smoking section.

Opinions and attitudes of people living in the township are eloquently described – especially those of her uncle and grandmother, but also of commuters between the township and the modern world. The white customers in the coffee shop where she works are also beautifully portrayed. A micro diagnosis emerges of contextual conditions in the two worlds of the township

and the modern city, as well as in the long, commuting road between them. Daily, defining moments in these three locations lead to many questions as to why these realities are there in the first place, and also what to do to develop new realities with less conflict and fragmentation. Even though the author suggests some answers in the diagnostic work, when describing the relationships, the people whose relationships are at the centre of the book are always acting in a micro reality embedded in the history of past, and even present, oppression.

In this way, the story is person-centred, but in a way that opens a wider frame, in which 'the great paradox in this country', or the 'gross contradiction', is voiced in terms of the land issue and other societal conflicts, such as worker strikes. The white coffee shop owner, for example, is so fed up with striking workers that she instructs the black workers in her coffee shop to go and tell 'your people when you get back home tonight' that striking 'is no way to solve any problems. It is selfish and completely inconsiderate and inconveniences millions of good people ...'¹⁸

In her new identity in the modern world, Fiks distances herself from black people – especially men, but also women, who demand too much of her attention, thereby depriving her of the solitude she needs in the modernising project she has designed for herself.¹⁹ In Grade 10, she had reacted enough to the squalor of the township, and learned enough of the new world from fashion magazines, to start *Project Infinity* – as she called her vision of leaving 'this life of blackness and embark on something larger than large and greater than great, something immeasurable and everlasting'.²⁰

But in the end she is glad to be back in the township again. She has been moved by a conversation she had on the commuter train with the black father of a little girl, who is heartbroken because the school his daughter attends only teaches English. As he watches the children in the playground, he says, he '... watched little spots of amber and auburn become less of what Africa dreamed of and more of what Europa thought we ought to be. Standing at the edge of that playground I saw tiny pieces of America, born on African soil. I saw a dark-skinned people refusing to be associated with the red soil, the mud huts and the glistening stone beads that they once loved'.²¹ Fiks then understands that she has a beautiful language and culture at home in the township.

AN ORPHANED URCHIN IN THE MODERN MOTHER CITY

This is the story of the urchin Azura in Cape Town, written by K. Sello Duiker when he was a student at the University of Cape Town.²² It is a story of suffering and resilience a few years after the end of apartheid, and of how modernity's 'Other' experiences modernity close up.

Azura is 13, and both his parents have been killed. Living on the streets of Cape Town, he has experienced the desires of white homosexuals and the most brutal gangster mafia among his own black brothers and sisters. After days and nights of unspeakable abuse, including group sexual abuse, he is told by one of the gangsters that he is a slave. In his worst moments, Azura finds ways to survive by going inside himself and telling himself 'I am stronger now'. It seems as though the violence he suffers builds up resilience, which leads him away from the violent world. Towards the end, he goes to the mountain and lives in a cave, looking down on the city where he had suffered so much. He joins nature with stones, plants, caves and animals. He learns to survive horrific storms and thunder. And he repeats, 'I have no mother and father and I am stronger now'. He counts the coins in his pocket – *thirteen cents* – which is also the title of the book.

In his dreams he experiences death and destruction, but also hope and visions. In one instance, he wants to go 'home' and takes the train to Khayelitsha, wandering around and finally joining another stranger in this township of mostly black residents.

Azura is fed up with grown-ups. He cannot figure out adults, who are taking advantage of him, whether they are gangsters, investment bankers or slum dwellers. He hands over his prostitution income to a 'nice' lady he trusts, as he cannot open a bank account without an address, but she steals his money.

Duiker opens our eyes to how society is experienced and perceived by a child, or young teenager, who has no support from family, friends, neighbours or schoolmates. This turns into an ugly picture of a world so close to us all. After Azura's experiences, I think his conclusion is well founded and nothing but logical:

I sleep with my feet on the bed. I don't trust them. Grown-ups are full of words. But they never tell you everything. They just tell you little bits of things. And that amounts to nothing. What are they talking about? All of a sudden they are talking about God. God this. God that. They are full of shit, grown-ups. Their minds are rotten with all their poisons. They think they are God. They think they know it all – the score.²³

Towards the end of the book he is sitting by the fire in his Table Mountain cave, all by himself, looking at the place of his miserable experiences in the town below. He sees that the shacks under the bridge where he used to sleep have been removed and destroyed by the police, and concludes, 'Rats are probably all that's left of that place'.²⁴

As he moves around the fire, his shadow becomes like a tall ghost mingling with ancient rock carvings – a moment of integration of the past and the present, with a vision of the future in which he can see himself running like the wind through a forest, so fast that the forest becomes blurred. This vision is so strong that, it seems to me as I read, he loses his grip on reality. The vision may prove useless if that is the case, and if the idea is to transform the violent world of experience into a peaceful one. And it seems that this is Azura's intention – conscious or not so conscious – as he throws more logs on the fire in the cave he has sought refuge in from the unspeakable violence in the 13 years of his life so far. Each burning log symbolises predators met – of different races, class and gender – and events experienced in his childhood leading up to the fact that his pocket contains only thirteen cents – one for each year of his life.

From his Table Mountain cave hideout, Azura witnesses nature at its most disastrous, vicious and angry, as enormous waves roll in from the ocean, thunder and lightning strike from the darkest clouds, and flaming fires scare all the animals into running from the deluge. But Azura knows:

... what fear is ... I breathe in deep and hold it for a while. When I let go, I open my eyes. I have seen the center of darkness. I have seen the slave-driver of darkness and he is a mad bastard. I know his secrets. I know what he does when we sleep. My mother is dead. My father is dead.²⁵

Azura knows the code of violence and is out to destroy it. His anger and fury contain valuable energy for transformation of contextual conditions, but his analysis is limited to his own unfortunate experiences and lacks collective insight involving the experiences of others. So when we ponder how the Azuras of this world can channel their defiant energy, it is clear that they need to learn that adults also have a code other than the violent one, namely a code of compassion, kindness, unconditional love, sympathy, peace, justice and solidarity. This is not a code of indifference, segregation, distance or isolation. As Azura's strength builds up to resistance and defiance, I believe it is important that he find this other adult code of empathy in his search, not only for survival, but for visions that can make a difference in his life. Azura needs to learn that his initial conclusion was wrong: we grown-ups

are not all bad. And I think it is important for Azura and others like him to understand that their intimate experience of the code of violence by adults, which informs their resistance and defiance, can be nuanced by this other adult code – that of a culture of peace.

GROWING UP IN MODERNITY'S 'OTHER'

Duiker died at the age of 30. His novel *The Hidden Star* was published posthumously one year after his death.

The story is about Nolitshe, an 11-year-old girl who lives in a township with her single mother – her father having died in a mining accident when she was five. She begins to listen to her inner voice after reading, in a book she picks up in the library, that:

... if you listen well enough, you will hear a voice trying to tell you something. It is your own voice. Instinct if you like, a feeling that won't go away ... feelings are like doors ... They can open up new worlds and show us things we do not ordinarily see. Such as the mysteries that surround us. The shells you are wearing around your wrist are full of mystery ... it is said that once upon a time shells were used as money, but before that they were used by ancient magicians and witches to cast spells.²⁶

Nolitshe's father was a healer and came from a long line of traditional healers. Her mother presented her with a gift that her father left for her – a bracelet with beads and cowrie shells. After reading the book in the library, Nolitshe dreams that she is confronted with *Imvubu*, the night creature that the old people in the township had talked about. This creature wants to eat her in the depths of a tunnel where he lives. 'I must be dreaming', she says when she is saved by her dead father, but he tells her that dreams are doors to the future. Then her mother also comes into the dream and surprises her by saying that 'sometimes dreams are more real than life'.

Nolitshe's father then tells her that the woman with whom she lives in the shack is not her real mother, but a witch who is impersonating her. Her real mother is the one present in the dream. And she dreams that, together with a witch living next-door, her fake mother attempts to steal Nolitshe's magic stone, in order to give it to an evil man called Naitjana, whose ancestors stole a sacred stone and broke it. He looks like an ordinary man, but he is an *umthakathi* – a man-witch. Nolitshe must find out the real name of her witch 'mother', in order to break the spell that keeps her father and

mother – who are not really dead – trapped in the underworld. When her mother wakes up, sharing the bed with her, Nolitshe is not sure whether it was all a dream.

With her two best friends, Nolitshe goes to the place where her mother works in town and finds out that her name is not Thembi, but Sylvia. She works in a *muti* store, and not at the street market, as she had told Nolitshe. It turns out that her dream was true. Her ‘mother’ is a Night Raider with several others, including their witch neighbour. They are actually – as she has dreamed – out to steal her magic stone and give it to the Evil Man whose ancestors broke it into pieces. That same man has turned Nolitshe’s father into a baobab tree and offered her real mother to a crocodile to gain power over the Zim. Nolitshe must therefore confront the crocodile to find her real mother.

In this story, set in a poor township in a modern city, the witches, Night Raiders, Renegades, Gods and even animals can speak, and rivers, plants and trees all have a part to play when Nolitshe rescues her real mother and father from the spell that evil spirits in the underworld had cast upon them. The main character – always with her friends from school alongside her – rescues the disappeared children in the township as well. Nolitshe’s most important struggle is to find all the pieces of the magic stone that was broken by the ancestors of the Evil Man. She finally finds all the pieces and the power of this stone is manifested in miracles, including the bad witches being eaten by the earth and disappearing into the soil, together with their witchcraft. As her real mother and father, as well as the disappeared township children, are rescued from the underworld, she hears the spirit of the stone saying, ‘You took up the challenge and found what your heart was aching for. And I’m whole again. Now it is time for the different tribes to come together as it was meant to be from the beginning of time’.²⁷

The significance of this story is that obscure or forgotten knowledge is pieced together again with the help of an 11-year-old township girl following her heart and curiosity, and destroying forces out to break her down – forces of evil deeds performed by people in her community. Such obscure knowledge also includes what Nolitshe has learned from her grandmother, when she says, ‘You mess with a woman, you mess with a stone’ – words that made the male and female witches disappear into the ground, leaving the magic stone with Nolitshe, who could then follow the instructions from the Spirit of the Stone and release her father from the spell that had turned him into a baobab tree:

They stand back. With growing fascination and excitement they watch as a head and then a pair of hands emerges from the tree. At first these human parts seem to be made of wood, but then they lose their hard texture and become flesh. Slowly but surely shoulders begin to form. There is a murmur of wonderment and awe as the children see Xoli coming to life before their eyes.²⁸

So Nolitshe, with her two best friends at school and her real mother and father as well as the four children that had disappeared from the township, find their way from the underworld to the real world with the help of a dung beetle pushing a ball of dung. And as her real mother sings *Ungongotwane* – a Xhosa folk song honouring the dung beetle, the children's memories of their township and home return, and they:

... can't wait to see their families again, to enjoy a wholesome home-cooked meal. But most of all they can't wait to be in familiar surroundings again. They've missed the township with its dusty streets ... They have missed the squeezed-in shacks that leave little space for anything else, and the train that makes the tracks hum as it passes by.²⁹

SOWETO IN THE 1980s TODAY

Where in the world does a little girl of seven years see necklacing, or even know about such horrible murder practices? Where in the world would a little girl hear about jack rolling and gang rape? Where in the world would a primary school teacher tell her girl pupils to stop sleeping with boys ... and informing them that the boys will play you if you're so *tjatjarag* (*too forward*)!³⁰

Redi Thlabi, the author of *Endings & beginnings: A story of healing*, was born in 1978 and recalls such early experiences: 'I lacked the vocabulary then to define the range of emotions I felt at the moment, but it was mostly a searing rage. I remained mute, but I was overwhelmed by the unfairness and injustice of this entire exercise. To be a girl meant to be powerless'.³¹ Contextual conditions of apartheid, as manifested in Orlando East, were harsh on everybody – so harsh that the 34-year-old author (when the book was published in 2012) finds good reason to revisit that reality, when she was growing up in a home with a loving mother and father.

How come girls who were harassed by boys were seen as responsible for the harassment and carried a stigma? Redi had learned this by age 11:

Siphiwe, an unpleasant acquaintance, was 19 when he started harassing her – even telling her to say she was his wife! And in the Catholic school in Soweto, there was another character:

... a pimply-faced bully who teased others mercilessly, and I didn't like him much. He had a deep voice and a penis that fascinated the eleven-year-old boys in our class. When the teacher was out, he'd call them all over and show it off to them, and they'd applaud and call him the boss. One boy stared adoringly at TaMoss's penis, exclaiming, '*Tjo, tjo, o champ, TaMoss!* You're the champion!' Moses loved it.³²

She also recalls that she went with her gangster friend to visit his friend and witnessed again – at a very young age – obscene language and fights. A woman yelled at her gangster friend '... you even got your mother raped so you could be born and cause shit on earth'³³ Her gangster friend was hurt and later told Redi about his family life with his grandmother and grandfather. He did not know who his mother was, but children he played with said, 'Your father raped your mother and you were born'.³⁴ And it turns out that a lady visiting from Lesotho told him that he was her son. He concluded that his father must be a rapist whom he wanted to kill – calling him a dog.

After reading chapter 5, I do understand why the 22-year-old Mabegzo – a known gangster in the community, and a rapist and murderer – developed this relationship with an 11-year-old girl! He was looking for the humanity he was lacking, and found it in this young girl, to whom he could confide that 'his life had been fine until the adults destroyed it'.³⁵ He finally admitted to her – upon her interrogation – that he used to rape girls and that he had just killed two members of his gang, as they had taken too much of the profits from a robbery. The day before he himself got killed, he waited for Redi on the street corner with an umbrella as rain was pouring down:

The umbrella wasn't big enough for us both, but he held it so that I didn't get a single drop on me, while he was exposed to the downpour. I was so touched by his kindness that tears began to roll down my cheeks. I knew he noticed, but he didn't say a word. I thought I saw a teary glint in his eyes, too. I wept all the way home, and not a word passed between us. When we reached my gate he asked rhetorically, '*O hantle akere?* You're okay, right?' I nodded and opened the gate. '*Mara wena, Lala*'. He stroked my cheek and was gone. The next day as I walked home from school, he was waiting for me at our corner again. Except this time he was lying lifeless in the street ... I stood there looking down on him. He was still so handsome, a light drizzle

falling on his bloodied face. I had known him for just eight months, but it felt like my whole life.³⁶

In 2004 – 15 years after this happened – the author, at the age of 26, wrote:

All these years have passed and yet, as ever, Mabegzo is still mauling my emotions. How is it possible? Each time I think of him my heart swells with love, longing and regret, followed immediately by self-disgust for daring to harbor such feelings. Then come the excuses: I was just a little girl; I didn't know any better; I was still in mourning for my father and warmed to the first older male who showed me kindness. Despite the intervening years, I am still unable to make my peace with him or his place in my life. He will not leave me alone. He still bangs endlessly on the doors of my heart, demanding that I be his voice, that I acknowledge his life, that I tell the world that he was so much more than just a robber, a rapist and a murderer.³⁷

And when the author later revisits her childhood environment in Orlando East, she finds and talks to some of the relatives, friends and foes of her male friend. Then she learns that Mabegzo's mother was gang-raped in Orlando East when she was 15 years-old and people believed that his father had transmitted his evil to him. They even pointed at him in his mother's stomach, his grandmother said. She was glad he died, because he was a devil's child, in spite of the fact that she had tried to remove the sin from him by taking him to church in Lesotho when he was born. She named him Mahlemola, meaning Sorrow. The grandmother thought this was a lesson God had given her – a cross to carry – and she had asked God for forgiveness and sent her daughter to Lesotho to avoid her dismal fate as an unwed mother in Orlando East. No one ever talked about what had happened, as it was forbidden by the father in the house. But township gossip thrived and lived on.

Mabegzo's childhood friend also tells about his mother and others, who told him not to play with him because he was a rape child – even though, at that time, his friend did not know what rape was. The author finds out that this friend believes that Mabegzo had killed the boy who had harassed her as a school-girl, on the advice of his *sangoma*. Together, the author and the childhood friend ask where the monster came from, because he had been so gentle and sweet to them. Thlabi writes, 'The monster was created by the adults who made him feel useless'.³⁸

This story is a study in the root causes of violence. Wounds inflicted on individuals are explained in terms of cultural traditions, in which gender

relations are at the core in combination with adult-child/youngster relations. These traditions meet an apartheid political system, blatant racism, migratory labour required by the mining industry and, in general, a giant clash between a modern state and constitutive rules in traditional cultures, which are thrown together in the townships. This violence of the political, economic, social and cultural realities, in the meeting between modernity and modernity's 'Other', constitutes a fertile ground for very problematic relations between men and women, young and old, children and adults.

The beauty of the love between the gang-raped mother and her little boy soon develops into a nightmare for both. Twenty-two years later, the gangster son is killed. Event after event accumulate, contributing to what may seem to be unavoidable circumstances. This story documents how adult behaviour towards children may nurture the gangster potential in the human being. The author also shows that 'everybody claims not to know where it all started',³⁹ as the hardened criminals start roaming the streets. The story contributes to our awareness of how adults must be careful when relating to children. A sample of events in the story shows how they contribute to long-lasting trajectories of suffering and violence:

- When Mabegzo's mother married, four years after the birth of her son, she did not tell her husband about the 'rape child'. When she finally did, years later, this was no news to her husband, who had known it all along. By that time her son had been moved to Orlando East to live with his grandmother, who called him 'Sorrow' – not 'Joy' as his mother had named him.
- The mother and child met again when he was 10 – six years after he had been moved to Orlando East. His grandmother, who had become his custodian, had not told him about his mother, but he had heard that he was the product of gang-rape, or 'jack rolling', and that he had many fathers. His mother kissed him on the lips – which he told the author when she was 11!
- An unbelievable event took place when the 'rape child' was brought on his mother's back to the homes of the three rapists, because the child had to be introduced to the ancestors of his *fathers' clans*! This meeting between raped and rapists is not only incredible, but – I believe – totally inhuman, regardless of cultural traditions.

This story of healing would not have been possible without the week-long talk between Mabegzo's mother and the author in 2005. In their conversation, the mother explained how, over the years, she had always wanted her

son to join them in Lesotho. Sadly, it ended with the streets of Soweto winning. Political realities in Lesotho had made it impossible and her son had:

... stopped waiting for his mother and gave up himself. At this point he was no longer a petty criminal but had tasted jail. He'd lost everything, there was nothing more to lose except his life, and even that he didn't value at all. The streets owned him now and gave him the validation he sought. There he was king of the jungle, and the weak succumbed to his power and authority. In the streets he was the final arbiter of who would live or die. In his kingdom he didn't have to seek anyone's acceptance, it was his verdict that determined who was accepted and who wasn't. He was all-powerful and supreme.⁴⁰

GENERATIVE THEMES

As mentioned in the introduction, the search for generative themes in narratives by young authors is expected to render important knowledge about how recent past and contemporary contextual conditions are perceived. Subjective orientations are seen as a valuable platform on which to gain knowledge about the specific conditions where they have developed to be used in the selection of peace education content and form.

Azura, Ofilwe, Nolitshe, Fiks and Mabegzo have learned a lot about the implications of past and present social, cultural, economic and political contradictions, and drawn their conclusions accordingly. If we listen well to the voices of these five young protagonists, we come close to – and get a picture of – credible interactions in harmony with those contradictions. Actually, it seems that events, dialogue, thoughts and actions included in the narratives *require* specific contextual conditions in order to be possible at all. It is as though some invisible, but constitutive, rules apply behind the scenes.⁴¹ In other words, the stories would not have happened without those rules governing macro levels of society – past and present. This means that questions can be asked and theories developed about why the stories developed as they did. This would be an interesting search for hidden and implicit relations between what happens in the stories and the objective reality in which the interactions take place.

In peace education interventions, the root causes of any violence need to be understood, as do the root causes of a culture of peace. Both the search for causes of peace as well as causes of violence would need to pay attention to the relation between micro interactions (coloured by more subjective orientations) and macro structures (of a more objective nature). But it is

important to note that: in violent structures, a culture of peace may still be possible; and in peaceful structures, a culture of violence may still be present. In some cases, interactions and structures may be characterised by synchronicity, in which both cultures and structures are mainly peaceful or mainly violent.⁴²

Obviously, however, our protagonists' diagnosis and analysis, as well as their solutions to problems lived, are limited and end in disaster more often than not. This fact underlines the great need for constructive assistance in the search for better analysis and solutions to life's challenges. This task would be the main purpose of a peace education intervention that would depart from recognising their experiences – however limited – and use this recognition in a conscientisation process that would constantly invite our protagonists to contribute their experiences in a dialogic encounter with others, for the purpose of improving their understanding of the relationship between their experiences and contextual conditions, as well as their vision and action towards transformation of those conditions.

In the absence of family ties, the protagonists find collective solutions to their problems, with the exception of: Azura, who defies the harsh reality he faces all by himself; and Fiks, before she gives up her *Project Infinity* and returns to find support within her township community, after a disappointing experience with modern life. Parents are replaced by friends and people in the community, including street people hunting for profit and pleasure. Church, non-governmental organisations and civil society, in general, have no place in the life of our protagonists, except for Ofilwe's middle class suburban life, Nolitshe's library books, and Fiks' fashion magazines. Also, Mabegzo's grandmother is a devoted churchgoer and tries to save him from evil ways with the help of the church. The relative utility of informal, formal and non-formal sources of orientation varies from one locality to the next, as communication structures vary with the degree of inequities in life conditions. Even though humanity shares the same global realities, the specific manifestations of such inequities in different localities are bound to influence the formation of orientations. Orientations are a product of those conditions, which, again, are reproduced and reinforced by the orientations they helped create. In peace education, however, the idea is to create new conditions that will weaken those conditions that are detrimental to peace and conducive to violence.

In a globalised world, it is less possible for specific localities to avoid the global communication structure. Even in localities without formal education, non-formal education sources (TV, radio, religion, belief systems, businesses, (global) markets and non-governmental organisations in civil

society) make their impact on orientations. The meeting of an indigenous knowledge system with a globalised and capitalised world is also portrayed in the story of Alice, the beautiful girl from the 'Down People' in the village of Ntselamanzi (the Place of Waters) who, as a beauty queen, was turned into a commodity during the 2010 World Cup: 'She began to think, appear and live as they desired. We wanted her to remain a child of our own. But she didn't.'⁴³ Her people were sent by the ancients to whisper to her. They sent different signals that she could no longer receive in the same way she had communicated with her people before. Their knowledge had no relevance in the midst of modernity and was subjugated, at the same time as their daughter became trapped in the prostitution of the modern world.

Perceptions about the problem range from Azura and Mabegzo pointing a finger at 'the adults who destroyed their lives, to Nolitshe's mission to conquer evil with good witchcraft by putting together again what had been divided by evil forces, and Fiks' critical experience with 'white' modernity. Solutions to the perceived problems seem holistic when these actors decide what to do. But their holistic solutions are based on limited analysis of the problem. The limitation is grounded in their lack of a more macro analysis of the interactions in which they are involved. Their subjective views of these interactions are the pillars of what they see as the solution. An exception to this is Ofilwe, who believes that thinking can integrate the inner and the outer – i.e. subjectivity and objectivity – and also Nolitshe, who takes on the evil in a great collaborative effort, with the help of the Magic Stone. In a way, it seems that the three girls find more constructive solutions than the two boys, who either get killed or end up in a hallucinating and unrealistic vision. In conclusion, it seems that the following seven generative themes need attention in developing content in peace education under the conditions analysed in this chapter.

Theme 1: Useless and destructive adults

Adults are often portrayed as a problem in the five stories, and this is explicitly stated by Azura and Mabegzo when they say that adults cannot be trusted and that they destroyed their lives. Ofilwe struggles unsuccessfully to keep the families of her mother and father in contact, and Nolitshe and Fiks have various problems with adults, whose evil witchcraft and racism, respectively, pose great challenges for them.

Theme 2: Broken families

Azura, Nolitshe, Fiks and Mabegzo have one thing in common: they have little or no support from, and no sense of belonging to close family. Ofilwe's middle class family provides her with the experience of a core family, but her family history is gone and links to traditional culture are broken. This she has in common with the main characters in the other four stories, as broken family ties means a lack of family histories that may be communicated in informal education. It is clear that all five narratives describe this great loss in knowing family history. Four of the five stories are about children who do not even have a mother and a father.

Theme 3: Traditional rituals and customs

In spite of the lack of family histories, it is quite remarkable how traditions of the past are being practiced in the present – even though tribal and rural communities have been replaced by townships. One example is Mabegzo's mother having to introduce her son to the three households of the men who gang-raped her. Gang-rape was not a traditional feature of African cultures and I suppose that the custom of the mother visiting the house of the father with a newborn originally was a meaningful institution. Another example of reproduction of old ways is Nolitshe's fantastic journey in collecting the broken magic stone and the miracles performed in the end to conquer evil witchcraft – and, remarkably, in alliance with her best friends at school. This shows how traditions linger in new generations and are of relevance in understanding modern reality in a non-modern way. This theme of traditions meeting modernity is eloquently described in other books as well and seems to be an important topic in saving roots of the past in the present, even though so much of the past has been lost.⁴⁴

Theme 4: Sexuality

As children, both Azura and Fiks suffer sexual abuse, in homosexual relations and with a 'nice' uncle, respectively. Mabegzo is no stranger to rape and abuse and is himself a child of a gang-raped woman. It seems as though sexual abuse is the order of the day in narratives in which core family ties are absent, and where the street is the venue, as in Azura's and Mabegzo's case. Sexuality is also a prevalent theme in other recent narratives by young authors in South Africa.⁴⁵

Theme 5: Gender relations

Redi Tlhabi, the author of *Endings and beginnings: A story of healing*,⁴⁶ poses basic questions to how gender roles are pedagogised by the teacher of young girls, who has to take on the responsibility of dealing with harassment by boys. To what extent this type of official pedagogy in the school is typical of traditional cultures or of modernity is, in my view, a question that needs to be taken quite seriously in any approach to education for peace. I think Tlhabi has pointed to an important generative theme that needs to be explored in conscientisation processes among all children and adults in formal, non-formal and informal pedagogic venues.

Theme 6: Witchcraft

This phenomenon seems to be of great relevance in some indigenous knowledge systems. Evil and good witchcraft are decisive in the story about Nolitshe and her great project of finding and collecting the broken pieces of the Magic Stone, and using its powers to perform a miracle by finding the township's disappeared children and rescuing her mother and father from the evil underworld. In the case of Mabegzo, too, a sangoma advises him on some of his evil deeds.

Theme 7: Racism in institutions and racist behaviour/attitudes

In the white suburb, the owner of the Silver Spoon Café blames Fiks when white customers smoke in the restaurant. Miss Becky also tells her black servants to go and tell 'their people' to stop their strike. The theme of apartheid racism is described movingly in a story by Mahala, entitled 'White encounters'.⁴⁷ Four of the five encounters that Sipho has with white people take place during apartheid, beginning with an incident when, as a 6-year-old he plays with a white boy at the home where his mother is a domestic worker. The white child's mother, speaking in a language Sipho did not understand, wagged 'her finger in my mother's face, the finger then pointed in my direction, and then at the door'.⁴⁸ The result was that Sipho's mother lost her job.

CONCLUSION

As noted in the introduction, a peace education intervention involves determining preferences for both what content to select and how it should

be communicated. It is the argument in this paper that both content and methods cannot be determined without a thorough analysis of contextual conditions. Since contextual conditions are decisive in socialisation, it is believed that a study of contextual conditions can be made utilising what we know about the experiential learning of people living under those conditions.

This chapter has attempted to provide an example of such analysis in the African context, in reference to recently published novels by young South African authors that describe young people's experiential learning in the context of the transition from apartheid to liberation and the foundation of democracy. The descriptions of the protagonists' interests, problems, issues and challenges render insights into possible generative themes that might be relevant in the design of peace education curricula in these contexts. This experiment, in analysing contextual conditions with the help of literature, is meant to serve as a model for possible use in any context where peace education is introduced. On the basis of this first attempt in trying out this methodology, I expect to compare this research with follow-up studies in other contexts, in order to test whether literary fiction (which often seems deeply inspired by the author's own experiential learning) can be a tool for finding generative themes in peace education interventions.

Inspired by Freire's work, it is argued that the seven generative themes are relevant in defining content in peace education interventions in the contexts described in these books. I believe that Freire would also agree that the author's way of writing about these themes serve as *codifications* – an initial resource in a dialogical process. But this is only a beginning, in that learners are invited to *de-codify*, or critically supplement and correct, the author's codifications, according to their own experiential learning. The dialectic between codifications and de-codifications would allow learners to modify or change elements in the story to fit the reality as they themselves know it – their own experiences in life – and therefore improve the analysis of contextual conditions.

The process of constantly improving the understanding of contextual conditions may be a most important part of developing *strategic* knowledge for finding solutions and effective action towards the transformation (and even elimination, in some cases) of contradictions perceived. The action and reflection relation is there all the time, however, so no actor needs to wait for more analysis of contextual conditions before acting. In fact, just *being* and *acting* in problematic conditions is of help in developing better understanding of those conditions.

With the help of codifications of generative themes described in the narratives, conscientisation processes can develop, leading to transformative human development, or *praxis*. Learners are invited to be critical of these initial codifications and to improve on the analysis of contextual conditions, in a constant interplay of lived life and the analysis of it. In this way, a bridge between the inner and the outer, or between the subject and the world, is constructed – realising that the world is in the subject, who is also in the world.

In this endeavour, literature may be a rich source in the analysis of specific contextual conditions. Furthermore, I believe literature written by young authors might be more relevant in the analysis of contextual conditions as experienced by young people, because – as mentioned above – authors are also influenced by their own experiential learning. Young peoples' experiences are relevant, not only because they are often the (only) target of peace education interventions, but also because they constitute such a large part of the population in many countries.⁴⁹

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PART II

REJECTING CHRONIC VIOLENCE





Chronic Violence and Implications for Pedagogy

Crispin Hemson

INTRODUCTION

I see education as an integral part of the society. As our thinking about society develops, so too should our thinking about education. This applies crucially to areas such as peace education, which is surely understood as having the task of enabling people to address fundamental problems in society. Rethinking the nature of violence in our society thus should have implications for thinking about the nature of peace education. This chapter will not attempt to design peace education as part of a curriculum. The reason is that it questions the limitations of the idea of peace education as being part of a curriculum, and draws on the concept of chronic violence to explain why we have to go beyond that limited understanding.

In particular, before we set out curricula for peace education, we need to examine the nature and extent of violence within education. A basic point made here is that effective peace education needs more than attention to the formal curriculum; it requires attention to aims, methods and strategies, and how these relate to the specific context, but also to the lived experiences of people in communities, schools and universities. The question, then, that this chapter addresses is this: What are the implications of the theory of chronic violence in the societies affected by it for peace education?

In this chapter, I set out a way of thinking about those societies that experience levels of violence significantly higher than the international norm. This is true of South Africa and some other African countries. However, I think that it may also push us to rethink peace education in less violent societies.

I draw on what I see as Mahatma Gandhi's vision – crucially, his vision of peace held simultaneously in view of the individual, such as the youngster in a school, and the whole of human society, of which that individual is a minute but integral part. For Gandhi, the individual may shape society as much as society shapes the individual; the issue of agency is always foremost, even as one sees the social structures that confront us. Secondly, the Gandhian idea of the unity of means and ends is something that informs the thinking of this chapter.¹

I will draw on theory of chronic violence² and on Galtung's concepts related to violence.³ Instead of presenting these formally, I will describe a case study of work with young people in a South African school, and introduce the concepts and theories through analysis of the case study, as a way of giving concrete expression to these theories and concepts. The chapter explores the literature on the extent and nature of violence in South African education, and then discusses the implications for peace education.

THE THEORY OF CHRONIC VIOLENCE

Central to the argument of this chapter is the notion of *chronic violence*. This draws on the work of Adams,⁴ who quotes Pearce:⁵

The term 'chronic violence', which builds from the WHO definition of violence, is 'measured across three dimensions of intensity, space and time, where:

- Rates of violent death are at least twice the average for the country income category,
- These levels are sustained for five years or more,
- Acts of violence not necessarily resulting in death are recorded at high levels across several socialisation spaces, such as the household, the neighbourhood *and the school*, contributing to the further reproduction of violence over time.'

How do African countries relate to this? It is striking that South Africa's homicide rate is about 30 times that of China, and about 10 times that of Turkey⁶ – countries in the same income category.⁷ It has been very high for many years (though it is, in fact, gradually declining). In a different income category, the homicide rate of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is about 10 times that of Bangladesh, illustrating the similarity with regard to South Africa, in terms of the definition of chronic violence.

We are also very familiar with the extent of violence across different *spaces* in South Africa. It has very high levels of gender-related violence, in particular of sexual assault and assault by partners.⁸ There is ample evidence of violence across our educational systems – the issue is addressed more fully below. And, as has already been referred to, there is evidence of the ways in which violence persists within the education sector, as in other sectors. In 2012, the police shootings that killed 34 miners at Marikana,

South Africa, gave graphic evidence of how images that, in our minds, belonged to the days of apartheid, were being reproduced in the present.

So there is ample evidence for categorising South Africa as a country in a state of chronic violence. What, then, are the typical features that we have to take into account? Adams⁹ delineates a set of propositions, some of which have specific implications for what we do in peace education. These are the propositions – their implications are explored below:

Proposition 1: Chronic violence is provoked and reproduced by diverse factors, many of them mutually interactive. These include: new patterns of social inequality and gender socialisation; disjunctive processes of democratisation; illicit trade and other adverse effects of globalisation; and the perverse effects of the mass media.

Proposition 2: Chronic violence undermines social relations and provokes perverse social behaviour that is naturalised among vulnerable groups and becomes a perverse norm that can be transmitted inter-generationally.

Proposition 3: Chronic violence obstructs public engagement, endangers the practice of citizenship and weakens social support for democracy.

Proposition 4: Chronic violence is unlikely to be reversed in the near term and hence must be addressed as a long-term, perverse kind of ‘normality’.

Proposition 5: Chronic violence must be addressed through inter-sectoral and inter-disciplinary approaches.

Proposition 6: Chronic violence obliges stakeholders to engage in an unprecedented process of inter-disciplinary and inter-sectoral learning, exchange and experimentation, in order to construct effective approaches.

CONCEPTS OF VIOLENCE AND TRAUMA

Violence takes different shapes in this account, and these can be set out using Galtung’s concepts of direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence. *Direct violence* refers to actual physical violence, sexual assault, or the threat of violence. The elements of direct violence are clearly present in the accounts of violence in community and family contexts.

Experiences with direct violence must have an impact on how the young people coming to school carry with them the *trauma* of such experiences. Trauma is referred to as ‘a wound on the soul of each perpetrator and victim, causing great anguish, guilt, and attempts to deny or forget, setting in motion psychological processes so strong as to affect all later experience’.¹⁰ In other words, their experience in later situations, including at school, is filtered through previous experiences of violence. The implications of this for our work will be explored more fully later.

Direct violence is also present at the school itself, through the different forms of overt violence already identified, that involve action by both students and staff. To understand the situation more fully, though, one needs to notice how these young people – black, working class or poor – continue to experience the vulnerability of those suppressed previously through colonialism and apartheid, and even now through lack of access to resources, despite improvement in access to services since the advent of democracy. Gender is another focus for violence, with continued violence perpetrated against girls and women. These are examples of *structural violence*,¹¹ which refers to the structures of society (legal, social) that entail marginalisation or exploitation on one hand and privilege on the other. It is crucial to note that the major constitutional and legal achievements of democracy are insufficient in themselves to achieve the end of structural violence.

*Cultural violence*¹² refers to the language and practices that serve to justify and normalise violence – both structural and direct violence. In terms of cultural violence, justification for the use of corporal punishment is explicitly related to children’s social identity, the implication being that they are somehow less rational or less valuable than those who go to what were once whites-only schools. Ways of speaking about girls (including amongst the young people themselves) are also examples of cultural violence.

The value of the use of these concepts is that we can see the full extent of violence and the ways that it impacts on the lives of young people in education. However, we need to go beyond the focus on the students to: How do we see the issue of violence in the lives of the teachers? Why would they, teachers in a democratic system, articulate ideas that are clearly against the interests of those they teach? Why would they not be on the side of their students in the way that the teachers at girls’ school seem to be?

To understand this, hear what teachers from such schools are frequently reported as saying: ‘This is what we got, and so you are going to get it too’. These teachers have been through a similar system, and the unresolved pain and the hurt from that system, is something that they are not yet free from. For them, witnessing the confidence of their students is painful; it

points to what they were not allowed to be. Students at township schools often complain that their teachers may have come from the same area originally, but make sure that their own children do not go to these schools, and communicate their contempt for those in poverty – contempt that was once directed at them.

This process, by which violence is reproduced by those who have experienced it, brings in the concept of *inter-generational trauma*.¹³

Humanly created trauma describes not only those individuals who, because of disruption, lose the capacity for joy and spontaneity and their ability to interact with others, are constricted and inhibited in their experience of the world; it also might well be extended to describe the experience of a whole generation, in which individuals collectively share a similar psychology.¹⁴

Applied to our context, this would suggest that the collective experience of teachers, who grew up in the harsh conditions of apartheid, has shaped a psychology that, at times at least, is focused on control and punishment – a joyless negativity directed against those for whom they are responsible. So the trauma experienced by teachers is now experienced by the youngsters for whom they are responsible; this is a way in which students' experience of the educational system is shaped through inter-generational trauma.

I use analysis of the following account as a way of setting out the previous relevant concepts and theory.

CASE STUDY OF WORK WITH YOUNG PEOPLE ON VIOLENCE

In partnership with another project, our organisation held a series of workshops with students in their second-to-last year of schooling in a township high school in South Africa. The school is set in an area where there is both formal State housing, private dwellings, as well as shack settlements. Since the birth of democracy in 1994, there have been gains in the provision of services like roads, electricity and water, though shack areas often lack full services.

The work started after teachers had said to the project leader that there was a need for workshops with girls on their sexual behaviour, which was reported as being problematic. The project leader had responded by saying that if there was a problem with sexual behaviour, surely boys should also be brought in. Was the issue not broader than sexuality? Should we not focus on the whole issue of violence?

So we ran a series of workshops with about 30 young people. At the outset, we spent time in discussion with them about how the workshops should proceed. They volunteered guidelines that we would follow together, and we reached agreement on those. They included such issues as confidentiality, treating each other with respect, and equality in the use of time.

Then we spent some time in groups that were divided by gender. The reason for this division was that we have found that, because most (perhaps all) violence is gender-related, in such contexts, people will talk more freely in a group of their own gender – at least at first. Later this changes; typically there is some contestation over how boys and girls relate to each other; but once the interactions become more equitable and honest, we can work together more easily across the gender divide. We also got the youngsters to listen to each other in pairs, with equal time for each to speak.

What was said in groups or pairs was not repeated in the full group. However, the kinds of violence experienced were identified in general terms. What was said about violence was very troubling. All young people in the group had at some point been seriously affected by the experience of violence, including: a father hitting a mother; the loss of a family member to violent crime; being mistreated around issues of HIV/AIDS; boys getting into violent conflict with each other; being subjected to criminal attack; sexual violence against girls, and young women in particular; and so on. The extent of the violence was remarkable – people from other countries who hear such accounts are often shocked by what they hear.

Increasingly, as the work progressed, the youngsters spoke of violence within the school itself. Some of the violence related to physical violence amongst students. Some related to the use of drugs or alcohol by students. Some came from teachers: the constant use of corporal punishment (which is illegal in South Africa); male teachers using their position to secure sexual favours from girls; and the persistent use of derogatory language against students.

In some cases these were serious, albeit infrequent practices, such as sexual violence against girls. Not all teachers used corporal punishment or abusive language. However, the students did not feel acknowledged as people with something to contribute to the school. A particular problem had been the theft of some new computers donated to the school, which they had heard about only indirectly; they had some information on who might have been responsible, but had not been asked to report on this.

As the programme neared its end, the young people set out goals for themselves and for changes that they would like to advocate within the school. At one point, a decision was made to bring teachers in to hear the

young people speak about what they had done and what they had learned in the workshops. They spoke confidently and clearly. They identified problems in the schools, and proposed that students and teachers work together to develop forms of discipline that were not based on corporal punishment. They said that they were not being given necessary information, and that they were able to assist the school in resolving the issue of the stolen computers.

I was impressed by what they said and how they spoke. However, it soon became clear that the decision to bring in teachers was a mistake. Their reactions were completely different from the students. Instead of taking pride in the accomplishment of their students, they were angry that the school's 'dirty linen' had been washed in front of others. One said that not having corporal punishment could work in schools that had been White under apartheid, but not in Black schools. (In reality corporal punishment had previously been common in both kinds of schools).

It became clear that student confidence was seen as threatening by teachers. A week later, some of the leaders of the group were publicly humiliated at the school for their impertinence. Fortunately, at least some had developed sufficient confidence to not lose their vision for their own future. A group of teachers also attended a conference on non-violence in education that our organisation had set up jointly with others, and said that their thinking had now changed.

I compare these events with a visit I made to a very different school in the same province, soon after this – a private girls' school that charged high fees. It is very easy to point to the privileges that girls enjoy in terms of small classes, access to a great range of facilities, highly qualified teachers and so on. I cannot make any comparison in terms of issues of violence experienced by the students, as that was not the focus. However, a group of girls spoke confidently and clearly about their involvement in school activities and in programmes to address social needs in the area – programmes that they initiate and run.

What struck me as equally important, though, was the focus on, and even celebration of, girls' achievement, the value they are making in terms of community service, and the contribution that they will continue to make to society. It was clear that the confidence of the students was seen by teachers as a reflection of the school's success. And, unlike so much else in the school, achieving this did not cost money, nor does having money ensure these positive attitudes.

The next section examines violence within South African education, relating the evidence from literature to propositions 1 to 4.

VIOLENCE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

Two recent major studies¹⁵ systematically set out the evidence of every form of violence taking place within South African schooling. Cases of direct violence range from killing¹⁶ to assault, sexual violence and harassment, bullying and damage to property.¹⁷ The latter study reports that 28 per cent of learners reported daily experiences of violence. In addition, I draw here on presentations at a 2013 conference on strategies for non-violence in education, part of which examined the evidence of the nature and extent of violence.¹⁸

Some of the violence comes from outside; there have been attacks by gangs on schools to steal items such as cell phones from students and teachers. However, more of the violence originates and is perpetuated within the school itself, such as bullying.¹⁹ Another form of violence is sexual harassment of girls, by either boys or male teachers, which is normalised through the use of derogatory language.²⁰ Five per cent of learners, mainly girls, reported being sexually assaulted at school within the last year.²¹ (While this chapter addresses South Africa specifically, literature describes similar patterns elsewhere on the continent).²² In addition, teachers have been assaulted and threatened and often report feeling scared within schools.

Other forms of violence include corporal punishment by teachers, at times taking extreme forms. One example was of a teacher who had been criticised by learners and retaliated with severe beatings using a plastic pipe. Remarkably, even though others in the school were aware of this, it took three days before there was an intervention to stop it. In another recent case, a student died after being beaten by a teacher.²³

While corporal punishment is still prevalent in many countries, research indicates with remarkable consistency that it has a negative impact on young people and also on their future lives as adults.²⁴ Further, there is evidence of the relationship to structural violence, through the way in which the use of corporal punishment in schools promotes the idea of discipline as submission to external control, preparing young working class people to be docile employees in the economic system.²⁵

Although girls are generally targets of negative treatment, more extreme violence is directed against gay, lesbian and bisexual students at schools.²⁶ There is a pattern through which such groups can be subject to harsher mistreatment, despite constitutional rights in South Africa that make such action illegal.

These statements refer specifically to schools; a relatively under-researched area has been violence within higher education. For those who

would assume that higher education levels and relative privilege would bring safer conditions, the evidence is that this assumption is incorrect. For example, similar findings regarding gay and lesbian students were made in a major report on higher education.²⁷ Work by researchers at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has revealed physical abuse by the majority of male partners in relationships with women in residences, as well as high levels of sexual coercion.²⁸

The evidence from the literature is that Proposition 4 is true with regard to South African education: chronic violence is unlikely to be reversed in the near term and hence must be addressed as a long-term, perverse kind of 'normality'. There is considerable evidence that the problem of violence is not the behaviour of a minority, but that there is a social norm that works to justify and rationalise violence.²⁹

In summary, the relationship between society, more generally, and education, specifically, is complex. In many ways, schools are vulnerable to the violence of the broader society. Further, we have seen how both students and teachers bring into the school the trauma they carry from their experience of violence outside the school. Yet schools and universities are not simply institutions subject to violence from outside; they are also places where violence is generated and reproduced, in turn contributing to the violence of the society outside schools.

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE EDUCATION?

When violence is so pervasive, what should be the response of education? In what ways does peace education need to respond to the pervasiveness of violence? Here, five points are stressed:

1. Making schools and universities into safe spaces

The first point to make is that peace education cannot be reduced effectively to an element of the curriculum. There needs to be simultaneous action to address violence in each way that it affects the institution. Without that, it runs the risk of becoming an exercise in hypocrisy, in which the formal curriculum is at odds with the 'hidden curriculum'³⁰ of the school. The 'hidden curriculum' refers to the ways in which a school inculcates attitudes and values through its procedures, the prevailing practices, and unspoken, but real, expectations.

At this point, Gandhi's *unity of means and ends* becomes particularly relevant.³¹ One cannot attain peace through the use of violence. However,

if one considers the many forms that violence takes, we must recognise the difficulties that principals and teachers (and also administrators at universities) have in addressing the hidden curriculum. It is not always under their control, as some violence emanates from students or the outside. For example, at one university, there were complaints of sexual harassment of women students by employees of contractors undertaking work on the campus.

What is proposed here is the development of a culture of non-violence through collaboration by all stakeholders. One cannot place all the responsibility on one group. In a school, this means that an overall code of conduct is negotiated and renegotiated through discussions that involve teachers, students and other staff. Because of the need for commitment by all, it cannot be reduced to 'school rules'.

Such discussions are also important in drawing on the thinking of all. Teachers inevitably are not aware of all the issues relating to safety, and students should be given the opportunity to report what areas are not safe – for example, how bullying is happening, where girls feel they are vulnerable to sexual assault, where people are using drugs, where there are breaches of physical security measures, like fences, and so on. The discussions should also address ways of reporting problems that threaten any member of the school community, and the difficult subject of penalties for those who violate the code of conduct.

Working with young people on issues of violence, I have made every workshop or formal course start with a long and open discussion on these issues, so that we emerge with a set of guidelines that all have agreed to. No proposal is accepted without discussion and consensus. During the course, frequent reference is made back to the guidelines – which can also be changed through discussion – in particular where someone feels that we are not keeping to what we had agreed upon.

The effect of such collaboration is to set out standards that all are familiar with and have shared responsibility for adhering to. It creates a sense of discipline that is intrinsic as well as extrinsic, and that teachers as well as students are bound by.

One implication of creating such a culture is that it will, inevitably, not be the same as the culture of the surrounding social environment. When entering the institution, we know we are crossing a boundary beyond which some practices are not acceptable, and others, such as ways of listening to each other, now become possible. Many schools build a sense of pride around academic achievement or sporting success; imagine an ethos that includes pride in the social achievements of the school.

Potentially, this contradicts the earlier point about the continuity of education with the rest of society. However, the point is rather that by changing education we also change society. In part, this is future-oriented, because of education's formative role with young people – in helping to shape their aspirations and imagination – and, in part, it is squarely in the present, recognising that we can shape relationships of peace now and here.

To take this approach is to change radically from the prevailing way things are done in education. However, we face major challenges. There is a need for experimentation in getting such approaches right – and, in the process, considerable learning. This issue is where Proposition 6 becomes relevant: 'Chronic violence obliges stakeholders to engage in an unprecedented process of interdisciplinary and inter-sectoral learning, exchange and experimentation in order to construct effective approaches'.³²

Doing this work also takes time; however, if one notices the extent of time taken by attempting to resolve problems of discipline, or the cost of students' anxiety about their safety, it is worth the effort.

Such an approach also involves considerable learning – learning what it means to have non-violence, what ways of speaking and listening foster peace, and what values emerge. There is increasing realisation of how building safety enables positive change:

... if we want to support change, it is necessary to create safe but challenging scenarios which might open up a person or group to the possibility of movement into something and somewhere new.³³

Schools cannot solve the ills of society, but they are where young people spend a significant part of their lives, and creating these into places of confidence and security is a valuable achievement. They are, then, also places where teachers and youngsters can give fuller attention to the academic tasks that they are there for.

2. Collaboration with other agencies

Adams sets out as Proposition 5 that, 'Chronic violence must be addressed through inter-sectoral and interdisciplinary approaches'.³⁴ Initiatives such as those described above require the collaboration of other agencies, for example, the police and education officials. In one school I know, attempts by girls to address sexual harassment by a principal were blocked by the failure of police and education officials to respond adequately to formal complaints.

There need to be meeting places where schools, local officials, departments of social welfare, police, and NGOs dealing with social issues, meet to discuss responses to violence affecting education in specific areas. Some of the violence that affects schools, such as the sale of drugs or gang activities, is beyond the ability of schools to address. However, such meetings are ways of holding police to account, for example, while assisting them by providing information that they may lack. These are ways of getting help on pressing individual cases, such as abuse of children within families, youngsters addicted to drugs and alcohol and needing rehabilitation, and so on.

This is perhaps the management of peace rather than peace education. However, it provides an additional way in which peace education becomes more possible – and there is also considerable learning to be gained from such processes.

3. The recognition of trauma and opportunities for healing

What is argued here is that peace education is not likely to work if there is no recognition of the harm done by violence to individuals in schools. We need to explore the possibilities for addressing trauma at the school – in classes that are designated as life orientation or civic studies.

Legitimate concerns may arise over schools having the necessary expertise or capacity to do this, and whether this is not the responsibility of other agencies, such as NGOs or psychological services. To propose that this be done within schools may seem to distort what they are about, which is the teaching of knowledge. However, I make this proposal based on my experience of having done such work within formal education.

We developed guidelines within courses, and used group work or pairs to enable people to speak of their experiences of violence and deal with the emotions that arise. Remarkably, people often said afterwards that they had been able to speak of something they had never spoken about before. This would suggest that we were providing opportunities that were not available to them elsewhere. In reality, in most countries experiencing chronic violence, the provision of skilled psychological services is very limited and patchy, and the capacity of agencies like NGOs to take on this work, beyond more extreme cases, is meagre.

What, then, is required? First, teachers need to have the necessary training – and teacher education, in South Africa at least, has done little of this to date. This is perhaps the single greatest limitation for such work. Secondly, such work requires the development of guidelines. Having an overall code of conduct at a school is a good foundation, but there are further, specific issues to be addressed. If students are to speak about their experiences,

there is a need for absolute confidentiality. Our experience has been that young people readily understand this, and we have not encountered problems of gossiping, or of participants using the information to undermine one another. With more time spent together within the security that a set of consensually developed guidelines provides, it becomes possible to break through the isolation that tends to accompany the trauma. In the process, the students also develop skills and theoretical understanding.³⁵

4. Challenge the perpetrator/victim divide

A particular problem arises that Adams refers to in Proposition 1: 'the perverse effects of the mass media',³⁶ namely the tendency to paint the problem of violence in stark dichotomous terms, with a minority of perpetrators and a majority of victims. The mass media often convey, in stereotypical terms, images of perpetrators as evil. This justifies the use of violence against groups who become identified as deviant and troublesome. In South Africa, of course, such images inevitably become racialised, with the image of the criminal as black – and particularly as black foreigner.

The truth is more complex. Gandhi was fully aware that we all have the capacity for violence. We all share responsibility for working against that capacity, and using violence to quell violence is a contradiction.³⁷ South African apartheid is a good example of how a violent system relied on the constant collusion of large numbers of people – who, once it had ended, portrayed themselves as the innocent victims of crime.

Working with students at school and university levels, I am struck by how easy it is for people to recognise themselves as victims, and how difficult it is to deal with our role as perpetrators of violence. Thus, as a principle of peace education in such a context, teachers acknowledging ways in which we have at times colluded with violence and injustice may encourage others to recognise their own violence.

Instead of seeing violence as a problem of other people's behaviour, it is more helpful to recognise how violence has become a social norm. The process by which that norm is established and reproduced needs to be part of the curriculum for peace education, while the creation of an alternative norm of non-violence is, as has been argued, a corresponding commitment.

5. See young people as inherently capable of developing positive change

In South Africa, implicit in the violence directed at, and amongst, young people, especially the poor, is the denial of their human status as beings with emotions, thinking, spirituality and physicality. This denial is something

with long historical roots, and conflicts with and undermines the country's democratic constitution.

We hear incessantly of the need for young people to learn skills that contribute to the economy. This is entirely true. However, the silent implication is that this is somehow more important than learning ways of being with others, as if we can reduce humans to bodies with technical skills. Peace education needs to challenge this systematically. It is about the education of the whole person, and it requires that we recognise each other as humans with full capabilities. Thus, peace education cannot be reduced to the transmission of unquestioned ideas or ways of persuading young people. I realised that, in my teaching, I was not advocating or proselytising for non-violence. I could explain the thinking behind it, but my work is not persuasion.

What young people need is a process that enables them to reflect on their experience, using theory as a tool rather than a dogma. They also need access to useful information, in particular historical knowledge that can help explain the journeys our societies have been on. They need opportunities to develop skills, especially skills in listening to each other, in thinking more deeply into the shoes of the other, and in speaking for themselves. From such a process, they are the ones who will come to advocate non-violence.

In a context of chronic violence, the desire for peace is still present. I am struck by how readily young people, with even limited encouragement and minimal resources, will act powerfully. To give one example, I had taught a couple of sessions with a group of school students on how to listen effectively to each other about their experiences of violence. When I next met them, much later, I asked if anyone had used any of these ideas. One girl spoke of an incident at school where an older student, who is always angry, had slapped a girl harshly. She had approached him and asked if she could counsel him about this. He immediately became very angry, and began picking up and slamming down desks in the classroom. She was very scared, but focused instead on listening carefully. Eventually he began to speak about his isolation in the school, and how he felt humiliated by being older than all other students. He then became her friend, and his behaviour at school changed completely. This was not what we had told students to do – and perhaps it is not something I would be capable of doing.

In that same school, a principal was known to systematically harass girls sexually, but the authorities failed to take any decisive action. A student leader, who had been on our programme, confronted the principal himself. Although attempts were made to expel him, his action led to the principal resigning in the end.

Young people can quickly see to the heart of the theory and run with the ideas, using them in ways we may not think of ourselves. Within contexts of constant negativity, the desire for a life of respect and peace remains, and will assert itself.

CONCLUSION

The approach here is to see peace education not as one (inevitably small) element in an overall curriculum, but as central to the responsibilities of schools, universities and community education. This raises questions as to whether such education allows itself to engage in the constant reproduction of violence, in societies wracked by violence, or instead takes up the challenge to bring hope and advance the broader cause of peace within such societies.

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Education

The Blame-Shifting Must Stop!

Phindile Lukhele-Olorunju

INTRODUCTION

It is safe to say, quite bluntly, that being a teacher – or even a parent – has become a lacklustre and, to some extent, loathed ‘career’ choice. No week passes without one hearing several disturbing occurrences that have taken place in South African schools – both primary and secondary institutions. Rife problems include bullying among the learners, teachers being threatened by pupils, the carrying of dangerous weapons to classes by pupils, raping of students by teachers, students being raped by other students, pregnancies at both primary and secondary institutions, and many other incidents – including shocking atrocities of students partaking in ritualistic killings.¹ All of the abovementioned incidences have left the victims, their loved ones and society in general physically and emotionally scarred. A prime example is the death of the Lukhanyo High School Grade 10 pupil, Keamogetswe Sefularo, who was killed in a satanic ritualistic attack by fellow pupils. It was reported that she was lured into the veld and stabbed, allegedly by a school friend.²

At times, I sit and contemplate what has gone wrong. Are we still in the same world that raised leaders like Mahatma Ghandi, Mother Theresa and Nelson Mandela, or God-fearing men like Billy Graham, John Wesley and Derek Prince, or did we suddenly wake up on a completely different planet overnight? Things seem to have changed in the blink of an eye – and not for the better. Many such occurrences were unimaginable during previous generations (e.g. the twentieth century). Schools used to be a place of safety – at times, even safer than some homes.

Today, some schools have taken on the role of the proverbial lethal injection for children, in that some of them adopt all sorts of dangerous and destructive behavioural patterns. According to the South African Council of Educator’s report – an important document on school based violence, released in 2011 – more than 15.3 per cent of pupils have experienced some form of violence at schools.³ In some schools, verbal and physical abuse have become the order of the day. There has clearly been an adoption of the

survival motto, 'kill or be killed' – something we reserved exclusively for the wild has crept into society.

We need to think of innovative solutions that will help students, teachers, parents and the community. Belief in the idea that the government alone has the solution will get us nowhere; rather, this should be made a national challenge that invites all South Africans to provide their contributions – no matter how seemingly insignificant – because, as the old adage goes, 'it takes a community to build a child'.

In consideration of the above, it becomes glaringly obvious that many factors are interlinked: family, culture, society, identity, behaviour, emotions and human rights, to name a few. This chapter identifies several of the factors contextually. It will focus on pressures faced by parents, learners and teachers (PLT), fears faced by PLT, and the role of parents in mitigating those problems; it will conclude with what needs to be done by all parties in determining a solution.

In discussing these topics, societal analysis will be used in a manner in which responsibility, not blame, is a necessary element in developing children to become proud citizens. Further, Bandura's behavioural theory will be incorporated as an important corollary that deals with cognitive and emotional aspects of behaviour for understanding behavioural change. Also considered is what I would call the 'South African/African' culture, as some aspects of the proposed solution relate, to some extent, to the role of cultural influences.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND EDUCATION

Human rights are moral principles that set out certain standards of human behaviour (see Box 6.1), and are regularly protected as legal rights in national and international law.⁴ In South Africa, human rights are governed by the supreme law of the land, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa⁵. The Constitution is aimed at preserving an equitable and just society, and at maintaining human dignity and unity. Human rights are governed by Chapter 2 of The Bill of Rights and apply to all people within the Republic. Most rights find applicability in the context of children and the education system. However, two rights must be highlighted: the rights of children (section 28)⁶ and the right to education (section 29).⁷ These rights enshrine the importance bestowed on children in society.

Box 6.1 – BEHAVIOUR

Behaviour is the manner in which people function or operate, which can be influenced by culture, attitudes, emotions, values, ethics, authority, rapport, hypnosis, persuasion, coercion and genetics.⁸ These factors are discussed in other sections dealing with culture, attitudes and emotions. Genetics also plays an important role in a child's behaviour. A person is composed of a genotype that defines who he or she is, in terms of genetic makeup/form, but it is important to note that environment also has an influence on a person. This is why geneticists talk about genotype x environment interaction, which means that the two interact to come up with what we physically see and call a person's phenotype.

Behaviour can also be glimpsed through the psychological discourse offered by Bandura's theory.⁹ Bandura is the most cited author on social learning, and his theory of learning and development has been used by many in the field of psychology. He also brings into play the view that society can contribute positively or negatively to behaviour. In a society that has little value for human life, a child will grow up disregarding the importance of life, and killing other humans may not be an issue of concern. However, it is possible to change a child's behaviour positively by changing the environment and people around the child. Many children have been transformed into well-behaved people merely by a change of friends and location. Children watch the behaviour of people around them, especially adults and peers. This is what Bandura referred to as 'observational learning', which has been used to explain a variety of behaviours. He identified three basic models of observational learning:

- i. A live model, which involves an individual demonstrating or acting out a behaviour.
- ii. A verbal instructional model, which involves descriptions and explanations of a behaviour.
- iii. A symbolic model, which involves real or fictional characters displaying behaviours in books, films, television programs, or online media.¹⁰

Basic social learning concepts refer to: the idea that people can learn through observation; the idea that internal mental states are an essential part of this process; and the idea that just because something has been learned, it does not mean that it will result in a change in behaviour.¹¹

Bandura's theory offers an important factor in social learning theory: the concept of **reciprocal determinism**. This notion states that, just as an individual's behaviour is influenced by the environment, the environment is also influenced by the individual's behaviour.¹² In other words, a person's behaviour, environment and personal qualities all reciprocally influence each other. For example, a child who plays violent video games will likely influence his or her peers to play the game as well, which then encourages the child to play more often. This could lead to the child becoming desensitised to violence, which will, in turn, likely affect the child's real-life behaviour.¹³

Some movies shown on South African television and watched by parents and children in many homes display violence and portray the perpetrator as the hero/heroine, rather than an aggressor who deserves to be punished. Thus, media violence becomes a major contributor to a child's behaviour.

Principles of social learning theory have been applied extensively to the study of media violence. Akers and Burgess hypothesised that observed or experienced positive rewards and lack of punishment for aggressive behaviour reinforces aggression. Anderson and Bushman and Paik and Comstock reported that many research studies have discovered a significant correlation between viewing violent television and aggression later in life, as well as between playing violent video games and aggressive behaviour. According to them, the role of observational learning has also been cited as an important factor in the rise of rating systems for TV, movies and video games.¹⁴

Behaviour has strong ties with attitude, which is defined by psychologist Gordon Allport as something that can be formed from an individual's past or present circumstances.¹⁵ One's attitude is essentially a reflection of the behaviour one will display in specific situations.

Thus, our behaviour is greatly influenced by the attitudes we assume on a daily basis. A child who grows up in an abusive family will, in most cases, display abusive behaviour at school. In the case of a male child, his attitude towards girls might reflect what he observes at home, in terms of how his father treats his mother.

Section 28 of the Bill of Rights specifically mentions the best interest of the child and the right to family (see Box 6.2) or parental care. One is then forced to ask, when parents send a child to school, are they not making teachers proxy parents of their children?

Box 6.2 – FAMILY

According to the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 published by the Department of the Presidency,¹⁶ family can be defined as a social group related by blood, marriage, adoption or affiliation. This definition allows for all types of families, including single-headed families, cohabitation, multi-generational/extended families, same-sex families and the 'traditional' nuclear family. It is also important to note that this definition is informed by various disciplines, such as sociology and demography. In this day and age, and divergent to previous practices, family has become what you make it and yet remains the critical foundation and player in shaping future generations of productive and responsible citizens.

In the words of Elizabeth Little-Gates and Thomas Burkhalter (2012):

Families provide or should provide children with an integral relationship, and with a sense of belonging, warmth and security, and of being loved, nurtured, appreciated, accepted, respected and cared for.¹⁷

They refer to stable and caring, rather than inharmonious or dysfunctional, families. The family unit is where children absorb values and morals, where they can define their principles, and where they learn to discern between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and action.

It is usually a place of safety, to which they can turn in times of trouble. It should also be a place that will provide honest feedback – even if somewhat blunt, but honest nonetheless.

Previously, educators assumed the position of interim caregivers when entrusted to impart knowledge to young minds – knowledge expected to lead children in the right direction and knowledge that went beyond the curricula to help a child properly shape his/her identity (see Box 6.3). They had the responsibility of assuring parents that the child was being raised in a sound environment.

Box 6.3 – IDENTITY

Identity is a collective representation, the fruit of a group's imagination.¹⁸ That representation takes shape around factors such as religion, ethnicity (as a means of differentiation), lifestyle (agricultural or pastoral), place of residence (valley or mountain), language and nationalism (in particular when a group lays claim to a territory).¹⁹ According to Golubovic, the basic meaning of identity refers to where a person or group belongs. It refers to what is expressed as self-image or, in the case of group identity, common image. Identity represents those cultural tenets that bind people within a group and differentiate them vis-à-vis others.²⁰

However, the concept of identity has been used in different terms. First, as a primordial identity being conceived as a naturally and unchangeable entity, such as belonging to an ethnic category. Secondly, it can be seen as a socio-cultural, political or ideologically constructed collective sense of communal or personal identity. This relates to one speaking of national identity or cultural identity. The third is ethnic identity, which is tied in with a nation state and ethnicity, representing a pre-modern society that is resistant to change.²¹

South Africa's national pride is *Unity in Diversity*, and this is clearly inscribed in the National Coat of Arms' motto ! *Ke e: /xarra // ke* in the green semi-circle:

The motto is written in Khoisan language and it means *diverse people unite!* There must be unity in thought and action. It calls for the nation to unite in a common sense of belonging and national pride – Unity in Diversity.²²

Identity is both personal and interpersonal – the reflection of how one sees oneself and, ultimately, how people relate to each other in society at large. However, one cannot rebuff the ‘now’ realities: identity is very often subject to the ebb and flow of familial, cultural and societal changes. A pivotal example raised in relation to identity is its role on the impact of inequality of opportunity. Women suffering discrimination in the workplace, or the difficulty women have in breaking into certain career fields, will often result in them not experiencing any learning opportunities or personal growth. This then leads to a perpetuation of identity association where female roles are reserved for certain exclusive positions. However, this cycle has been broken by the increasing female population in the workforce, since the advent of the Constitution.²³

Unfortunately, this relationship has been severed by a complete loss of trust and respect between parents and teachers, as well as between teachers and students. Children are now subject to contradictory messages, because of the surge in information: they are no longer taught by elders, but are teaching each other through whatever information they are exposed to – whether right or wrong. This cannot possibly be in the best interests of the child.

Children are now facing a crossroads that was previously navigated with the guidance of a parent or teacher. With the loss of that guidance, how do we expect to educate and equip a new generation of leaders, who are, in turn, expected to raise future leaders? The Constitution promotes unity and equality, but one cannot forget that it is also possible to be unified in destruction, and to live in a society where ‘some animals are more equal than others’.²⁴

Human rights are tied to responsibilities. The Department of Basic Education and Lead SA created the Bill of Responsibilities, which explains the paramount fact that, for every right, there is a corresponding responsibility.

For example: the right to parental or family care also means the responsibility to honour and respect one's family; the right to an education means attending school regularly, and respecting and cooperating with teachers and colleagues. These responsibilities, contained in the Bill, are meant to ensure that the behaviour of the youth is properly directed towards the right values.²⁵

Human rights are pivotal to democracy in South Africa, where we are to raise children to respect that very concept. The attainment of human rights, as envisioned by the Constitution, will only be achieved fully if children are raised responsibly, both at home and at school, with a steadfast foundation to breed proud citizens. The NDP emphasises the role that schools are expected to play in producing responsible citizens.²⁶ We cannot separate these concepts from our collective and individual identities, from how we relate to each other, and, most of all, from how we will raise our children.

CULTURE, HERITAGE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Box 6.4 – CULTURE

There are various understandings of the term 'culture'. Monsutti Gueres defines culture as follows:

Some schools of anthropological thought hold that culture is a homogenous whole delimited by a territory and rooted in history. The cultural group thus defined shares a set of rules, beliefs, values and forms of behaviour, and speaks a common language. Another interpretation of culture rejects that it is rooted in a territory with defined borders. It perceives culture as a set of constantly changing values and practices. New culture takes shape while others disappear, meaning that culture cannot be likened to tradition. In this interpretation, history is not a constituent of culture but rather the written support for it. Culture is therefore as much constructed as it is inherited from the past.

In South Africa, often one cannot look at culture without engaging in complementary discussions on heritage and social development, especially in light of the country's historical standing and rich diversity. Culture, heritage and social development are concepts so intertwined and inter-dependent that separation of the three is often a feat too great even for well-versed intellectuals.

Culture and heritage feed into each other. Heritage embodies the well-known, proverbial questions one is often asked: 'Where do you come from? Who are you?' Culture, on the other hand, is a legacy that is often passed down the generations and helps many in answering those questions.

We may be currently evolving towards a global village, as dividing lines are slowly fading away, but at the crux of the matter, culture and heritage still account for how the vast majority of people identify themselves. In South Africa, a country rich in culture and heritage, it is very difficult for people not to identify themselves initially by their given names, which are linked to their culture and, in turn, to their heritage.

This then feeds into social development. Social development encompasses our interpersonal relationships. How do we view ourselves? What is our conception of others? Who do we relate to? How do we relate to them? How were we raised?

Although technology has closed the gap and offered exposure to many other cultures and heritages, exposure doesn't diminish the importance of these concepts. It actually helps enrich our culture when we discover that there are possible similarities between practices in an African tribe and those in a Native American or Amazonian tribe. These concepts cut far across the national into the international, and the knowledge of these three key concepts has helped raise awareness that 'no man is an island'. This should be a time when we no longer look to our cultural differences to create more differences or rifts; rather, it should be a time when we bring to light how our cultures bring us together. For instance, the Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele and Swati cultures have many practices similar in nature and deed; instead of disregarding the differences in those practices, there should be appreciation of those differences – a willingness to discover why, for example, the 'reed dance' differs from dances in other tribes.

The concepts of culture, heritage and social development also tie in to the notion that ‘information is power’. The interest, acknowledgement and knowledge of a different culture has also opened up many doors of opportunity, especially for economic and political ties around the world. We observe the importance these concepts hold when, during conferences, meetings and discourses, we witness the host countries’ displays of cultural practices (e.g. the Chinese dragon dance) and visit monuments commemorating their history and heritage (Gettysburg, Apartheid Museum, Forbidden City, Statue of Liberty). Even the FIFA World Cup, held in various countries, is testament to the importance culture and heritage still holds in the developed and developing worlds. Culture is very much like the proverbial onion: it holds a multitude of layers, and just when one thinks the root is near approaching, a new layer is discovered.

Box 6.5 – SOCIETY

A human society is a group of people involved in persistent interpersonal relationships, or a large social grouping sharing the same geographical or social territory, typically subject to the same political authority and dominant culture. The word ‘society’ may also refer to an organised, voluntary association of people for religious, benevolent, cultural, scientific, political, patriotic, or other purposes. In light of the discussions raised above in relation to culture, society cannot be ignored: it serves as yet another factor that influences the dynamics of how current generations were shaped, and how future generations will be shaped. A steadfast society serves as a fundamental building block in bringing up a child. A positive society, where a child grows up being taught the importance of respecting others, and of self-respect, often breeds generations of young adults not easily swayed when facing difficult decisions. The NDP 2030 believes that schools could be used to: empower children to appreciate diversity through respect and tolerance, and cope with the ever-changing environment; understand that rights come with responsibilities; and help transform the national character of South Africa.

Box 6.6 – EMOTION

David G. Meyers tells us that human emotion involves ‘... physiological arousal, expressive behaviours, and conscious experience’. Psychologists, therefore, often define emotion as a complex state of feeling that results in physical and psychological changes that influence thought and behaviour. Emotionality is associated with a range of psychological phenomena, including temperament, personality, mood and motivation. Emotion can never be readily defined, but it does play an important role in the relationships formed between children and parents, and students and teachers. How emotions are processed internally is relayed in how individuals engage with others. Perhaps the current state of students revolting and retaliating against parents and teachers can be attributed to how emotions are processed. Unfortunately, in the paradigm of emotions, one must be cautious of both extremes: one can expect neither complete repression of emotions nor an over-zealous display of all emotions. The solution often lies in a balance – a balance taught from the fundamental levels of family, culture, identity, behaviour and attitude.

HUMAN RIGHTS VS CULTURE

Parental rights are legal rights, and the corresponding legal obligations that go along with being the parent of a child.²⁷ Parents have the right to be treated with dignity and respect,²⁸ but seem to have abdicated those rights and submitted themselves to the rights of their children. Yet the African Charter on Human Rights is clear on the manner in which rights are permitted and responsibility given to parents over their children: Article 18 of the Charter discusses the importance of family and guardianship.²⁹

Human rights and culture are often at loggerheads, because they pose contradictory solutions to the same problems – hence the contentious discourse of corporal punishment at school. Some parents and the Constitution are of the firm belief that one should ‘spare the rod and spoil the child’, while other parents believe the opposite. Teachers who trained during the time when corporal punishment was used as a corrective measure, find it difficult to cope in modern schools, where such a measure is forbidden.

Teachers and education institutions face the fear of legal action against them for use of corporal punishment.

Because of the lack of education and awareness on the part of parents, they are now being placed in a disadvantaged position, because children are abusing their rights, and using them selfishly and in a manner not intended by the drafters of those rights. The solution lies in the correct education of both parents *and* children on what those rights really mean. Parents should have a sound understanding of their rights, while children should be taught the value of their rights and, in particular, the responsibilities that come along with those rights.

Teachers should be careful about how they promote the availability of crucial resources such as Childline and the circumstances under which a child may report a parent for abuse. This should really be reserved for serious cases of abuse within households.

Thus, one must highlight the importance of a constant dialogue between parents and teachers. Parents need to be involved in the education of their children – to know who is teaching them and what they are being taught – so that, should any issues arise, they have sufficient grounds to argue their case when they approach school administrators and principals.

A crucial point being missed is that the responsibility of parenting cannot be delegated to teachers. Life Orientation should not be an inconsequential subject in school, studied only in order to pass the year. Parents should be involved in teaching Life Orientation, because it may as well be termed ‘life lessons’ – lessons that can easily be passed on to children by parents. Respect shouldn’t just be taught in the classroom, it should be taught at home. The same goes for discipline, values, manners, diligence, courage, respect for authority, sexuality, and even something as practical as hygiene. By transferring their parenting responsibility, parents are handing over their God-given power of love and protection of their children to be misused by someone who does not have that responsibility.

Yes, teachers are meant to care for and be assistants in grooming and raising the children, but there is a limit to that responsibility. Teachers in most schools are over-extended, and are still expected to perform parental duties, as well as focusing on academic and sporting responsibilities. In a class of 40-plus students, it is far easier to tell a child the wrong thing when one is aware that they will not have to deal with the consequences.

We are in a period in history in which important human rights are being emphasised. Those rights should not lead to a more violent culture, or to children not being guided into mature members of their society. I do not think they should lead to a “world in which many groups of people feel that

their identity, language, traditions and religion are threatened and equate globalization with a demand of Western culture'.³⁰

The use of human rights in an abusive manner – in promoting violence in our schools – is slowly becoming an issue of concern. 'Human rights' are used in many ways to discourage parents and teachers from disciplining their children/wards at home and at school. By disciplining children, one is referring here to correcting them when they engage in something attributable to misguided behaviour, in the eyes of the parents or teachers. A good example would be a child corrected for addressing an adult in a disrespectful manner.

In the African culture, a common belief is that a child belongs to the community wherein she or he is raised. In earlier times, disciplining a child was the business of the entire community and not just the parents. This was encouraged, and no parent frowned upon discipline being meted out to his or her child by a neighbour or member of the community. Children grew up knowing that they could not misbehave in the presence of any adult – be it a relative or a stranger – because they could be disciplined for misconduct. Unfortunately, this is no longer the case, because of new terminology such as 'child abuse' – and yet no one talks about 'parent abuse', and the fears parents now face in attempting to discipline their children.

It is very important for human rights activists to be sensitive to cultural issues and understand how to integrate rights and cultures cohesively. Human rights and culture are often viewed as two extremes of the spectrum. However, we must be willing to bring the two together when raising children. Parents can teach their children the value of respecting both human rights and cultural values. The Constitution does not aim to separate the two, but rather to bring unity between the importance of human rights and the rich diversity of culture in South Africa, and even in Africa as a whole.³¹ Cultural traditions do not need to take a back seat to Westernisation; they can work together in a purposive and positive manner, because even a car makes it possible for two people to sit in front.

FEARS FACED BY TEACHERS, LEARNERS AND PARENTS

Teachers fear students and students fear teachers. The previous cordial relationship between teacher and students can now only be found in a few selected schools, where teachers act as 'pseudo-parents' to students and there is mutual respect. I sometimes ponder how parents feel as they drop their children off in schools where some terrible occurrences take place. It

can be assumed that much time is spent worrying, which in turn results in reduced productivity and output at the workplace. Conversely, some parents choose to remain 'blissfully' ignorant of what is occurring, dwelling on the idea that 'it will not touch my child'.

The same applies to a teacher who wakes up in the morning to teach at a school where his or her life and the lives of others are at risk, because some students are carrying knives, guns and other weapons to class. Such teachers, though expected to be in a position of authority, are reluctant to challenge – let alone discipline – a student when necessary. It is a difficult situation indeed. It is almost a choice between livelihood and death for many! Other fears teachers have include being falsely accused of rape, and confronting children whose parents have a lot of influence at the school or even in government – and who protect their children from consequences by throwing money at the problem. Thus, even if teachers choose to discipline, they face the constant fear of losing their job or having their reputation tarnished.

ROLE OF PARENTS IN MITIGATING THE PROBLEM

Something is surely wrong – the questions being: What is it? Where is it occurring? How can it be fixed?

It is easy to believe that whatever is wrong is linked to a number of issues, such as absence of or non-adherence to family and school values on the part of parents, teachers and learners. I must quickly add that since we all are influenced by the environment we live in, we need to factor in organisational, societal or even national values – if we have any. Even though some may not agree with me, I think the home is the centre-point of what happens later in the life of any human being. Every child is born in a home and formed or brought up from birth until a specific age (4–6 years) by adults, who may be parents or guardians. What is instilled in this child will comprise mostly what is in his or her immediate surroundings, including the people caring for the child. There are many who believe that teachers can only assist to shape what has already been engraved in a human being in terms of values and character. To put it a different way, they add value, but do not manufacture the product.

The faults and failures of many parents have led to the suffering of their children. Some parents are very harsh and critical, never praising or encouraging their children, and some even resort to physical abuse and cruel beatings. Physically abusing a child not only affects the body, but

also contributes to severely damaged personality and emotional attributes. Such inner scars are usually carried into adulthood and result in various problems. Unkind, unfair or unwise words and actions can cause fear or anger in the hearts of children. This affects their relationships with other people in the family, at school, at work and in the community. Physically and emotionally abused children suffer from a low sense of self-esteem. They are often afraid to take on challenges or even prepare themselves for a better position in life, because they have been berated and criticised so many times in life that they have lost hope and live under a cloud of self-doubt and personal insecurity. The Bible tells us that parents should teach and train their children in love (Ephesians 6:4).³²

Have we, therefore, failed to do our part as parents or guardians? How many of us can beat our chests and say that we have done well in instilling good values in our children, and that they are fully responsible for what they become in future? How many of us parents can stand anywhere and say, 'my home is a better school for my child than the school out there?' How many children can defend their parents in terms of good upbringing and showing good behaviour as children? How many parents are always there for their children to engage with, and to teach them about life's challenges and how to tackle them? Are we more concerned about our jobs than our successors? What joy can we derive from all our money, expensive houses and cars, when we suffer from heartaches because our children are not like us and do not care the least about what we have accumulated in their name or on their behalf? Can you sleep peacefully as a parent not knowing where your child is, what she or he is doing with whom, and whether she or he will come back to this luxurious home and enjoy it as expected? These questions should be thoughtfully contemplated when assessing your role as a parent.

Is the family structure broken irreparably in South Africa? There is no definite answer to this question. South Africa has different types of families: single-parent households, female-headed households, cohabitation, skip-generation households, same-sex relationship households, polygamous families and migrant families. According to the NDP 2030, 40 per cent of all households in South Africa are headed by single parents. The majority of these are headed by women, and, on average, 33 per cent consist of children, compared to only a fifth for male-headed households.³³

Some of the single parents are socially isolated, but African culture allows single-parent households to live in extended families, where they can be catered for – albeit under strenuous conditions, since most will be dependent on social grants to care for their children. Most of the cohabitation households have no legal recognition, and this exposes children to

socio-cultural and economic disadvantages through discrimination.³⁴ An estimated 92 365 South African children live in child-headed households, and the proportion of fathers who are absent, but living, is about 40 per cent. Children living in most of the above households, including internal migrant families, are negatively affected by the environment in which they live and grow.³⁵ However, the National Development Plan 2030 of 2013 finds that, notwithstanding the types, the most crucial issues affecting families in South Africa include poverty, inequality, unemployment, housing, HIV and AIDS, absentee fathers, crime, substance abuse, gender-based violence, teenage pregnancy and moral degeneration.³⁶

I think we all need a wake-up call, and need to do something for the sake of our children, society and nation. We are all affected one way or the other. No matter how well you as an individual bring up your child, society will have an effect on your child in one way or the other – especially emotionally and in how they eventually identify themselves as adults. One will rarely find a nation that can stand or be sustained when the fundamentals of family life are destroyed! We need to be united in dealing with our problems.

WHAT MUST WE DO?

We have guiding principles that we have thrown to the dogs: our religious beliefs that talk about training and disciplining a child. Child rearing and upbringing is a subject in all religions and cultures. The Bible says, ‘Train up a child the way he should go so that when he grows he will not depart from it’ (Proverbs 22:6). We have become individualistic, and yet African culture says that the child belongs to the clan/community: ‘it takes a community to raise a child’, or ‘a child is one person’s only in the womb’.

Previously in the African culture, we never had orphanages, because children were raised by family members when one or both parents died. No child was brought up by a single parent; indeed there was no such thing as a single parent, as the child belonged to the family, even when born out of wedlock (which was not common). In some African cultures, there was not divorce: so mothers and fathers tolerated each other for the sake of their children – and if separation had to happen, the matter would have been exhaustively discussed by both families and even the chiefs of the community. Divorce was previously not the default option of running away from the responsibility of raising up children. In African culture, we never had ‘old age homes’, because the elderly were taken care of by other family members, irrespective of whether they had children or not. Children grew

up knowing that they had the responsibility of taking care of their parents when they were old and could no longer care for themselves.

However, times have changed: we have imbibed certain cultures that have negatively affected our families, children and communities. We have failed by trying to run away from our responsibilities, often pushing blame on someone else, or some group of people, when we should have raised our children to be responsible citizens. 'There is a need to look back in order to forge ahead: to build and bring a fully liberated African future, the rich African values that unify and build African modernity from African philosophies, associational patterns and traditions and values must be promoted'.³⁷

We must appreciate our differences and recognise that we need each other. No individual can survive without another. People succeed only when they work together. Families succeed when there is unity in diversity. The national government departments can only succeed when they work together. The Department of Education cannot survive without support; it needs the crucial support of all parents working together with them.

We must take our basic responsibilities of bringing up our children seriously. If I teach my child to listen, think, obey, respect, be honest and work hard (to do his or her best in whatever he or she does), and if you do the same, a high percentage of South Africa's problems will be solved – or will at least be on the right path to a solution. We will surely have a better South Africa that is united in diversity. Teaching a child those things is not a privilege for the rich or the educated, but a God-given responsibility of every parent. Family values are important. What are your family values?³⁸

We must live our values. Each organisation, like each home, has its values. The problem we have is that they are merely on paper and on the wall, and not engraved in our hearts, thoughts and actions. We read about them, but choose not to believe in them, and that is why we do not live them – and do not take them as absolute truths for which we should be held accountable. Where is '*Batho Pele*' today? It is gone with the wind in most government departments and institutions. We pride ourselves on organisational values whose meaning we do not even understand. Why? Maybe because even family values have been completely disregarded at a fundamental level. Or perhaps we believe we have outgrown them, and therefore they are no longer important or applicable and we are independent and free to do as we please.

Values build character, and character plays an important role in promoting unity in diversity. I read that:

Focusing only on what you can do without first deciding on what kind of person you should be is a big mistake. Your talent may make your name known but your character will determine what people associate with it. Your talent may dictate your potential, but your character will determine your legacy. What is character? It is the will to do what is right, even when it is not easy. It is deciding ahead of time what is truly non-negotiable!³⁹

In their book, 'Life Talk for Parents', Little-Gates and Burkhalter give some tips that could help parents of teenagers:

Convey values; Do fun things together; Define boundaries and consequences and enforce discipline; Emphasise the importance of specific aspects (such as manners, respect, self-control, financial responsibility, personal hygiene and others); Listen, support and advise as necessary; Be around or have someone responsible when teens are at home to check that homework is being done; Ensure that TV and Internet use is not excessive (or inappropriate); Get to know their friends; Encourage healthy snacks or meals; Inspire intellect-developing activities and help with problems or issues before they escalate; Be aware of the company the teens are keeping, where they are, what they're up to, and whether they are being drawn into any risky activities or into any of the popular subcultures that may, or may not, worry you; Attend sporting or other extramural events; Develop basic home and future 'survival skills' (such as cooking, ironing, basic sewing, gardening, pet care or DIY; Chat about what's happening in teen's lives, and what their achievements, fears or joys are. (Relaxed and informal time can be invaluable in opening up communication channels and spontaneous interchange and forming closer bonds.)⁴⁰

The presence and active involvement of the father in a child's life enhances academic performance, and social, emotional and cognitive functioning.⁴¹ Parents and teachers should integrate the values and practices of culture and family, and most importantly, of the democratic Constitution of the land, in raising children.

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

Professor Jonathan Jansen has written much about issues that bedevil our education system. Jansen correctly states that the education problem requires political solutions.⁴² This means that the government should use its authority to straighten the bends, fill up the holes and clean up the mess. I believe that the first bend to be straightened is that of family: families need to be strengthened, as it is obvious from the discussion above that the foundation is shaky and volatile at best, and therefore the house cannot stand. The government of South Africa has globally committed itself to a number of treaties and international agreements, e.g.: the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; regional declarations such as the Dakar/Ngor Declaration on Population, Family and Sustainable Development (1992); the Social Policy Framework for Africa (2008); the Plan of Action for Family in Africa (2004); and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990).⁴³

Government has come up with a number of strategies to strengthen the family, some of which include: affirming the importance of a family; fostering marital stability; promoting inter-generational solidarity; promoting positive values and moral regeneration; encouraging responsible parenting; encouraging fathers' involvement in their children's upbringing; and promoting gender equality.

James, in his article 'Education isn't a political football',⁴⁴ reiterates the responsibility of the government in addressing the problem, especially as it relates to the role unions play in negatively affecting the education system of South Africa. In a previously published article, I concluded by saying:

Let us be realistic about building this country. Let us not destroy it by destroying families: no system can function properly without sound families and no nation can survive without sound families. If you build strong family structures, you build a strong nation! The answer is not to make the office more attractive, the answer is to care more for the building blocks of society: families.⁴⁵

The education system in South Africa needs to be discussed, not only by politicians at local government levels or wards, but also by all South Africans who are not in government, because it does affect every sector of society. Parents are concerned about the poor performance of their children, which makes them unemployable. Society is concerned about the negative impact this has on society, where you find students hanging out on street

corners during school hours, and smoking when they are supposed to be in school. This leads to drop-outs that become a nuisance, both to themselves and to society.

Teachers are beginning to fear for their own safety in classrooms, where there is a risk of being attacked by children under the influence of drugs and alcohol, and carrying frustrations from homes that are not conducive for child upbringing and support. Universities should be concerned about the students they get, and not be happy that they can make up their numbers by attracting intelligent students from neighbouring countries. The government is concerned about the effect on manpower for the labour market.

We are aware that there are many teachers who believe in their vocation, and many students who desire an excellent education, who are being frustrated by a few distracters. A system of flushing out the bad eggs and recognising dedicated teachers and hard-working students is needed. Since parents are also victims and contributors to this problem, they should ideally be more than willing to come up with good suggestions to help pave the way to solving this problem. James came up with some good pointers with respect to the role of unions in turning South Africa's broken education system around. He suggests that 'parliament legislate a negotiation cycle with bargaining only in June and July and once in three years, or that the education sector form a federation, frame a charter of values and begin to craft a robust system of self-regulation'. Some companies have made good progress because of ideas contributed by the 'lowest' staff members. 'Nobody knows it all, but we all stand accused, if we allow the future generation to fail.'⁴⁶

Have things got better? I would say, No! Why? Because the nail has not yet been hit on the head!

Conclusively (though the subject can never be closed), let us parents lay the proper foundation by taking our own responsibilities seriously before shifting the blame. Most teachers are also parents, and they should be able to show that they are responsible parents, not only at home, but also at school. Indeed, we cannot continue the blame-shifting game when we know exactly where and how the problem begins!

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6 Children:

28. (1) Every child has the right –
 - (a) to a name and a nationality from birth;
 - (b) to family care or parental care, or to appropriate alternative care when removed from the family environment;
 - (c) to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services;
 - (d) to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation;
 - (e) to be protected from exploitative labour practices;
 - (f) not to be required or permitted to perform work or provide services that –
 - (i) are inappropriate for a person of that child's age; or
 - (ii) place at risk the child's well-being, education, physical or mental health or spiritual, moral or social development;
 - (h) not to be detained except as a measure of last resort, in which case, in addition to the rights a child enjoys under sections 12 and 35, the child may be detained only for the shortest appropriate period of time, and has the right to be –
 - (i) kept separately from detained persons over the age of 18 years; and
 - (ii) treated in a manner, and kept in conditions, that take account of the child's age;
 - (j) to have a legal practitioner assigned to the child by the state, and at state expense, in civil proceedings affecting the child, if substantial injustice would otherwise result; and
 - (k) not to be used directly in armed conflict, and to be protected in times of armed conflict.
- (2) A child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child.

(3) In this section 'child' means a person under the age of 18 years.

7 Education:

29. (1) Everyone has the right –

- (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and
- (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

(2) Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account –

- (a) equity;
- (b) practicability; and
- (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices.

(3) Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that –

- (a) do not discriminate on the basis of race;
- (b) are registered with the state; and
- (c) maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions.

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Traditional Approaches to Peace in Africa

Examining the Efficacy of Strategies for Peace

*Tony Karbo*¹

INTRODUCTION

Ongoing conflict in Africa has resulted in the flow of millions of refugees, widespread internal displacement, and a severe economic downturn in states experiencing large-scale violence. The proliferation of refugees and internally displaced persons has stressed local and government resources and exacerbated local conflict. This situation is particularly apparent in the Tigray region of Ethiopia, where regional conflict, government policies and conflict over scarce resources has resulted in a serious refugee situation. As a growing number of refugees from Eritrea and South Sudan occupy this region, the resultant confluence of individuals with a different background, tribal affiliation, ethnicity and culture gives rise to conflict, both within refugee camps and between camps and host communities. As such, conflicts have had a destabilising impact on regional peace and security.

This chapter looks at: the nature of conflict between refugees and between refugees and their host communities; the mechanisms that are used to address and resolve conflict; and the perceived legitimacy and effectiveness of such mechanisms among local populations. Understanding the dynamics of modern and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and their strengths and weaknesses is vital before embarking on working with these institutions and mechanisms to advance peace.

The violence that has characterised refugee relations in Tigray in the past – where the refugee camp hosts Eritrean refugees primarily from the Tigrinya, Kunama and Saho ethnic groups – is primarily rooted in cultural prejudices and stereotypes. Inter-ethnic violent conflict between refugees is rare. Conflict with the local host communities has developed due to competition over scarce resources and the environmental pressures of an expanding refugee population, more than to historical ethnic rivalry. Since the first Eritrean Kunama refugees crossed the border with retreating Ethiopian forces in 2000, there has been a steady influx of refugees entering the camp. Although hostilities between the two countries officially ended in 2000, Tigrinyas, in particular, continue to escape Eritrea, due to the current political instability and fear of forced conscription. As a consequence,

approximately 300 Eritreans, predominantly single males, enter the camp every month.

The research approach seeks instance to combine the various understandings found in the literature and elsewhere, in the first, with a view to illustrating the multi-layered nature of traditional and modern conflict resolution processes. Secondly, the research report will highlight the strengths, limitations and constraints of modern and traditional mechanisms in resolving conflict and contributing to reconciliation processes.

OVERVIEW OF THE ETHIOPIA-ERITREA WAR

The border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea led to open confrontation in May 1998, after Eritrea advanced into the town of Badme. The war officially ended on 18 June 2000, with the signing of the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities between Ethiopia and Eritrea, which was brokered by the UN. Since the ceasefire, UN peacekeepers have policed the buffer zone between the two Horn of Africa neighbours, although their work has been hindered by what the UN Security Council has called 'systematic violations' of its resolutions by Eritrea. An independent commission awarded the disputed town of Badme to Eritrea in 2002, but Ethiopia did not implement this decision. In November 2007, the commission demarcated the line using map coordinates, in a ruling that Eritrea accepted but which Ethiopia rejected².

Thus, both sides remain locked in a stalemate. Ethiopia has said it will only accept the commission's ruling after negotiations with Eritrea on the mechanics of how the border demarcation will take place, which Eritrea refuses unless Ethiopia withdraws from its territory. Fears are currently being expressed within the international community of an imminent return to hostilities.

Humanitarian impact of the war

The Ethio-Eritrean war is notable in that not many civilians were actually caught up in the fighting. However, it did result in the displacement of significant numbers of civilians. By the end of 1998, the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (GFDRE) reported that the number of displaced people had reached 350 000.³ Displaced people were subsequently accommodated with local host communities, mainly south of the three major areas of friction along the 1 000-kilometre-long border. These areas are: Badme and Shiraro in the western border section (Western

Tigray Zone), Zala Ambasa and Alitena in the central border section (Eastern Tigray Zone), and Bure in the eastern border section (Zone 1 of the Afar Region).

Following the ceasefire agreement, close to 80 per cent of internally displaced persons (IDPs) began returning to their homes. However, insecurity and landmines in agrarian areas are the main concerns that prevent the remaining IDPs from returning home and becoming self-sufficient.⁴ Despite the endorsement of a Land Mine Treaty⁵ by both sides, United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) officials reported that new landmines were planted on both sides of the border with Eritrea during 2006. The spread of HIV/AIDS among the population also increased substantially in the aftermath of the war, because prostitution became a major source of earnings for many young women— and was fostered by the presence of soldiers in the area.⁶

During the conflict, the Tigray Region also received many of the 720 000 Eritreans from border areas such as Badme, which were affected by the war. However, most of these refugees fear repatriation due to Eritrean government policies, and many more Tigrinya are continuing to cross the border today, in order to escape conscription in Eritrea.

The interruption of economic relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea also affected and continues to negatively impact many people, especially those living in border towns such as Zalambessa, Adigrat, Rama and Humera. Labour migration to and from Ethiopia had traditionally served as an income-generation opportunity, especially for poor households on both sides of the border.⁷ The closure of the border has also interrupted cross-border trade in grain and livestock, which had helped to stabilise prices in times of scarcity. Livestock sales were an especially important source of income for middle-income and upper-income households. With the outbreak of open confrontation and the ongoing stalemate, cross-border trade has come to a standstill, thus seriously reducing the rural population's ability to compensate for shortfalls in agricultural production.

Despite the historic cultural synergy between the Tigrinya-speaking ethnic group (Eritrea) and 'Tigray ethnic group' (Ethiopia), it is stated that relations between the groups have been deteriorating due to the continuing political feud between the ethnically federated Tigray region in Ethiopia and the Tigrinya government in Eritrea. Moreover, increased tension between the groups is triggered by the differing economic impacts upon Eritrea and Ethiopia, which are evident at the border.⁸

CONFLICT AND CONTEXT ANALYSIS OF TIGRAY STATE, ETHIOPIA

The Tigray Regional State comprises four zones – Mirabawi (Western), Misraqawi (Eastern), Mehakelegnaw (Central) and Debubawi (Southern) – with a total, predominantly sedentary, population of about 3.4 million. The majority of the population is settled in rural areas and depend predominantly on farming and related agro-economic activities. Culture, religion and language (Tigringna) are shared, to a significant extent, with the majority population group of Eritrea.

Refugee context

Pre-independence refugee movement from Ethiopia and Eritrea

Refugee movement can be divided into three periods: the first sizeable refugee flows into Sudan (1967–73); the Ethiopian revolutionary period (1974–90), which began with the military coup against the Imperial Ethiopian Government and the onset of the Ethiopian Revolution in 1974; and the post-revolutionary period, which began with the collapse of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the formation of the Transitional Government in 1991.

Refugees after the 1998 Ethiopia-Eritrea war

Refugee movement from Eritrea was interrupted for a ten-year period and then resumed in 1998. Unlike the previous movement, it took place well ahead of advancing Ethiopian troops. The 'new' refugees made the decision to move in anticipation of violence. Many who fled to Sudan have since been repatriated, but many from the Kunama ethnic group remained in Northern Ethiopia, even after formal hostilities ended in 2000.⁹

Due to its geographical position and environmental and geo-political developments in the region, Ethiopia continued to receive asylum-seekers from neighbouring countries in 2014 and 2015. The country has a history of receiving people displaced by drought, conflict, political events and civil wars in neighbouring countries, including Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. Eritrean refugees, including unaccompanied minors, continue to arrive in increasing numbers and generally tend to move on from Ethiopia to a third country, a situation which presents a major challenge in providing protection to displaced persons.

Environmental degradation around camps, the fragile ecosystem and scarce resources have led to tension between host communities and refugees in some locations. In 2014, the main groups of concern under the Ethiopia operation were: Somali refugees – living in the Dollo Ado and Jijiga camps (eight camps in total), and a small number in Addis Ababa – who sought protection in Ethiopia due to insecurity or the famine in Somalia in 2011; and Eritrean refugees, including unaccompanied and separated children seeking asylum in Ethiopia. Eritrean refugees are mainly located in camps in Shire, Tigray region and the Afar region, with a number of urban refugees in Addis Ababa and Mekele.

Current refugee numbers – Eritreans in the Tigray Region

The total number of refugees in the country at the end of April 2014 was 80 918. The number has reduced slightly compared to January 2008, due to the repatriation of Sudanese refugees. However, the number of refugees from Eritrea and Somalia has continued to increase. Between January and April 2008, the number of Eritrean refugees in Tigray increased from 17 121 to 18 395.¹⁰ Eritrea continues to be the major country of origin of refugees entering Ethiopia.

The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) has opened a new camp in northern Ethiopia to house the increasing number of Eritrean refugees entering the country. A total of 776 Eritrean refugees have already been transferred to Hitsats Camp, which can house up to 20 000 refugees. In 2013, over 4 000 Eritrean refugees were registered in Ethiopia alone, overwhelming the capacity of existing refugee camps in the region. A large number of the new arrivals are unaccompanied minors, who require special protection. Unlike many other refugee situations in Africa and elsewhere around the world, most of the Eritrean refugees fleeing to Ethiopia are young educated men from cities. The predominance of young men is a pattern observed throughout the region, where Eritrean refugees often cite the indefinite military service for both men and women as the main reason for fleeing to other countries.

Shimelba refugee camp

Established in 2000, Shimelba refugee camp hosts a population of 18 395 Eritrean refugees. These are refugees who fled Eritrea during the border conflict of 1998–2000, as well as men and women who continue to leave Eritrea, either to avoid the mandatory national service, or flee the worsening

economic situation in the country. The refugees were initially settled in d Waalanhibi, in the Tigray Region in northern Ethiopia, some 1 200 kilometres north of Addis Ababa. As that location was too close to the border with Eritrea, the camp was relocated to Shimelba in June 2004. Shimelba camp is situated approximately 33 kilometres south of Sheraro town, located in Tatyabo Woreda in the Tigray Region, where the UNHCR is presently located in a satellite office. The area is semi-desert, with temperatures of up to 42 degrees Celsius during the dry season. The rainy season is from June to September each year.¹¹

Ethnic groups in Shimelba

The main refugee population in the camp is Eritrean. The predominant ethnic group is the Tigrinya, followed by the Kunama. Other ethnic groups include the Afar, Bilen and Saho. There are significant differences between the two dominant groups, although it has been reported that the different ethnic groups cohabit reasonably well in the camp.¹²

Tigrinya ethnic group

The majority of the Tigrinya ethnic group, who come from urban settings such as Asmara, are not used to the harsh climate and the living conditions the camp offers. Many of these refugees are students from the University of Asmara, which closed down in 2005. University students have frequently been the target of forced conscription, and Ethiopia has been willing to offer these students asylum in its refugee camps. Escaping forced conscription in Eritrea is one of the central reasons for the continued influx of young male refugees to the camp since the war ended in 2000. Most come to Ethiopia by themselves and do not have any family or other support networks in the camp, which weakens the group's coping mechanisms.¹³

Kunama ethnic group

The Kunama are one of the smallest ethnic groups in Eritrea, making up only two per cent of the population. Most of the estimated 100 000 Kunama live in the remote area between the Gash and Setit Rivers, near the border with Ethiopia. They speak a Nilo-Saharan language that is unrelated to the dominant languages in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and are believed to have been the pre-historic inhabitants of this region. Although some Kunama still practice traditional beliefs, most are converts to either Christianity (Roman

Catholic and Protestant) or Islam. Although other groups have intruded on the Kunama and their land for decades, the Ethiopian-Eritrean war accelerated their problems and forced some 4 000 to flee their homes. As a result, they became refugees in Ethiopia, in the arid area just over the border with Eritrea and in close proximity to the contested border village of Badme. The Kunama have crossed the border in families and have been able to maintain their social structure and community support within the camp.

Formerly nomadic, today they are farmers and pastoralists. The fertile plains of the Gash-Setit region where the Kunama live are sometimes referred to as the 'breadbasket of Eritrea'. However, other ethnic groups have invaded the land the Kunama traditionally possessed. The official policy of the government of Eritrea is that all land is state property, and the government encourages large commercial farms, most of which are owned by members of the dominant Tigrinya group. It has also been suggested that the Eritrean government has permitted settlement on the land that the Kunama left, including the relocation of ex-soldiers, refugees returning from Sudan, and people displaced during the war with Ethiopia.¹⁴ Most Kunama are unable to go back to Eritrea due to discrimination against their ethnic group, including land seizure, forced conscription and violence.¹⁵ Resettlement in Ethiopia does not appear to be a viable option for the Kunama, and few of the refugees have made an effort to seek relocation in a third country. Recently, however, the Kunama as a minority group were identified for resettlement in the U.S. Approximately 1 250 Kunama have already benefitted from this resettlement.

Gender imbalance

One of the particularities of the camp is the male to female ratio, especially among the Tigrinya ethnic group. In November 2006, only 15 per cent of the Tigrinya and 17 per cent of the Saho were women. However, the Kunama do not have this demographic imbalance, as they crossed the border as families. The new arrivals (approximately 300 per month) also reflect a gender imbalance, as 70 per cent are single men.¹⁶ The most recent figures reflect this continuing imbalance throughout the camp, as UNHCR reported in November 2007 that 3 493 Eritrean refugees were female, while 11 507 were male.¹⁷ As stated, the reason for this gender imbalance is that the predominant ethnic group (Tigrinya) comprises mainly young men who are escaping conscription from the Eritrean army.

Conflict in the Shimelba refugee camp

Sources of conflict between refugees in the Shimelba Refugee Camp include inter-ethnic tension, gender-based violence and political insecurity.

Inter-ethnic tension

As noted earlier, it has been reported that the ethnic groups of the camp cohabit reasonably well. However, there are certainly issues that create tension between groups. For example, some Tigrinya university students and urban refugees have been resettled by the UNHCR into third countries, often being given precedence over the Kunama, who have now been living in the refugee camp for years. This policy has been advanced by the Ethiopian government and the Ethiopian Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), and carried out by the UNHCR.¹⁸

Gender-based violence

According to some informants I interviewed in the camp, sexual violence, sexual exploitation and abuse, domestic violence and forced marriages are all forms of gender-based violence prevalent in the camp. In spite of under-reporting, which is common in refugee situations, International Rescue Committee (IRC) figures confirm that rape, attempted rape, sexual harassment and other forms of domestic violence are common in the camp. High rates of sexual violence during flight from Eritrea were mentioned. Additionally, because there is such disparity between the numbers of single men and single women in the camp, women are in a more vulnerable position.

The problem is also a multi-faceted one. Women feel that they need to be associated with or live with a man for protection and for socio-economic reasons – in addition to the fact that there is a lack of shelter for single women. Women associate themselves with men so that the latter can help them build houses. Often, women will live with men because there is not enough shelter for them in the camp and they have nowhere else to go. Women also associate themselves with men for protection, as they feel it is safer to be associated with one man rather than be at risk of many men trying to take advantage of them. Refugee women stated that even if they were able to live on their own, they still needed support to be able to purchase other necessities (for example, firewood for cooking, plastic sheeting and soap). They said that they were able to secure this support by providing sexual favours to single men.

Domestic violence was also identified as being a problem, particularly with men not allowing women to access any of the services, or even to leave the house or tukul. Some refugee women stated that they knew some women who knew nothing about the camp or the services provided. Many women feared for their health because of the number of men with whom they had had sexual relations. There is a high rate of sexually transmitted infection (STI) in the camp and all the women's groups complained of reproductive health problems. Some women stated that if they became pregnant and kept the child, the man would often leave them. Others said that they had felt forced to marry for protection. There have also been marriages between the different ethnic groups – which would be unusual and rare in Eritrea – and some agencies have expressed concern that the motive for many of these was to try and increase the chance of resettlement.

Political insecurity

Also important to note is that the camp is much politicised. Eritrea and Ethiopia are currently experiencing political tension, and diplomatic and trade relations have been severed. Eritrean groups opposed to the current Eritrean government are reportedly recruiting in the camp, and the Government of Ethiopia is concerned about this. It is also suspected that Eritrean spies have infiltrated the camp. In February 2007, three bombs exploded in the camp. Although the police have arrested refugees, no one in the camp (both refugees and agencies) seems to know who might be setting off these bombs. As the border is nearby, there is generally a tension and fear amongst the refugees that a war between Ethiopia and Eritrea will break out again soon, and that they have nowhere to go. At present, Eritrean refugees who have fled so as not to do military service cannot go back to Eritrea, as they will be put in prison.

Conflict between the camp and the host community

Sources of conflict between the camp and the host community include economic grievances, the cultural divide and environmental resource pressures.

Economic grievances

It has been reported that there may be grievances between the refugees and the host community due to the *lack of economic opportunities* offered to refugees. For example, refugees complained that they are not able to sell

their produce to local markets, such as Shire and Shiraro, as the government of Ethiopia does not allow refugees to work. The Shimelba market is saturated and therefore offers no further options.¹⁹

Divide between Eritrean Tigrinya group and Ethiopian Tigrayans

The people in Badme and other border areas bore the brunt of the war. Most affected were the Tigrinya-speaking ethnic ‘Tigrinya’ (Eritrea) and ‘Tigray ethnic group’ (Ethiopia). They practice the same religion (Orthodox Christian), and have a similar way of life (small-scale farming) and language. Until 1991, relations between the two liberation fronts – the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) and Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) – were cordial. Together, they defeated the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in 1981 and the Derg in 1991.

Despite the historic cultural synergy between Eritrea’s ‘Tigrinya’ and Ethiopia’s ‘Tigray ethnic group’, relations between the groups are said to have been deteriorating due the continuing political feud between the ethnically federated Tigray region in Ethiopia and the Tigrinya government in Eritrea. Moreover, increased tension between the groups was triggered by the differing economic dispensations in Eritrea and Ethiopia, which are evident at the border.²⁰

OVERVIEW OF TRADITIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA

Traditional societies in Africa and elsewhere are reputed to hold secrets of peacemaking locked in their ways, formed from centuries of custom before disruption by colonization. In places and practices that modernization has passed by, these traditions are often claimed to be still in use, keeping the heart of society in harmony while imported overlays such as states and currencies collapse in conflict around them. Some of these smack of the ‘noble savage’ of romantic literature; other aspects may merely be the invention of the current conflict management fad that ignores the creativity of traditional ways of conflict resolution.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, much attention and emphasis has been placed on the role of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms in Africa. This new and revitalised interest comes against the backdrop of incessant intra-state conflict that has plagued the continent since the end of the Cold War. With an extensive body of literature reflecting contending views on their utility, these traditional conflict resolution mechanisms vary

widely in scope – covering (to use contemporary parlance) mediation, negotiation, arbitration, conciliation, co-existence, reconciliation, transitional justice and transformation – as well as in contextual nature and approach.

Part of the difficulty in understanding the concepts of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms in Africa stems from the fact that each tradition has not one, but many mechanisms, adding to the pervasive problem of seeking to deal with Africa as a homogenous entity. Such a difficulty poses several challenges to anyone attempting to interrogate conflict resolution mechanisms in refugee camps with many different ethnic groups from different regions - albeit from the same country. The multiplicity of ethnicities in a refugee context under state laws of the host country compounds the problem even further. Conflict resolution mechanisms will, therefore, differ from one refugee community to another and from one camp to another. Similarly, it is also unclear how these traditional conflict resolution mechanisms relate to other contemporary concepts and processes, as they are understood in the field of conflict resolution, peacebuilding, conflict transformation and reconciliation.

The way the process and context are perceived and how traditional conflict resolution is further interpreted and advanced, will depend on the approach of the person or organisation working with these traditional mechanisms. The approach is the result of the different theoretical, practical and cultural background lenses that inform us. You need different approaches and areas of expertise, as one person or organisation can never address all the needs and challenges innate to African traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. But how these needs and challenges are defined will depend on how different lenses perceive the specific context. Essentially, African traditional conflict resolution mechanisms can be viewed from the perspectives of peacebuilding, human rights, and socio-economic, developmental, political, religious, psychological, and socio-cultural perspectives.²¹

These different perspectives further explain some of the origin of the complexity and confusion in defining and relating traditional mechanisms. It is important to realise that these different lenses define our perceptions of the context and therefore certain pieces of the puzzle are apparent to us as researchers. Nonetheless, these lenses are imperative, since the complex multi-dynamics of conflict resolution require some form of structuring for us to be able to find our way and act in our best capacity. And the variety of these different perspectives does provide the opportunity to generate distinct and multi-dimensional versions of practise that better suit specific contexts. But choices need to be made in terms of the approach. There are

commonalities to be found among the different perspectives, but the emphasis on what is needed and how this should be achieved will vary.

Traditional approaches to conflict resolution do not provide a panacea for conflict transformation that can be utilised at all times in all institutions.²² According to Volker Boege, the effectiveness and utility of traditional approaches are largely dependent upon ‘the existence of a community of relationships and values to which they can refer and that provide the context for their operations.’²³ The reason for this reliance on context is simply that relationships, in the traditional sense, are a precondition for the effective operationalisation of the models of conflict transformation and conflict resolution. Relationships, in this sense, are deeply rooted in a shared world view.

A recent report by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) states that a major gap in the literature concerned with traditional conflict resolution is the near absence of empirical studies on the resilience of traditional institutions. This is particularly true of Africa, where traditional institutions command the allegiance of large segments of African societies. The report highlights how African traditional institutions have not only survived colonial occupation, with its fundamental restructuring of African political systems, but remained significant in African societies even in the post-colonial context, when African nationalist leaders often pursued policies to Africanise their bureaucracies without indigenising the institutions of governance.²⁴

Zartman makes the important point that although traditional conflict management practices have, by definition, been practiced for extended periods of time, ‘traditional’ does not mean that they remain unaltered. It is crucial that research continue to analyse traditional methods, considering that they ‘represent a synthesis of time-honoured practices and new techniques as communities adapt their customs to cope with fundamentally new types of conflict’.²⁵

TRADITIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS IN SHIMELBA CAMP

As stated in the previous section, traditional methods for resolving conflict continue to play a significant role within the refugee community, and the prominent actors and mechanisms used in villages in Eritrea have been successfully replicated in Shimelba camp. This research found that traditional actors remain highly relevant amongst Kunama youth. It was expressed by the youth interviewed that they perceive the elders system to be extremely

effective at resolving cases of domestic violence. Moreover, they claimed that elders are the most effective at resolving conflict between Kunama and the local community, particularly when they gather with the elders of the local community. This is because traditional methods seek to build relationships, whereas the police mode of investigation primarily involves catching suspects and putting them in prison straight away. Thus, it is perceived that, in contrast to modern methods, traditional actors focus on seeking reconciliation, rather than on punitive measures.

Yet, according to the majority of youth from all groups interviewed during this research, traditional methods are ultimately insufficient in providing long-term reconciliation between the refugees and the local community. It is perceived that the ending of resource-based conflict requires a solution at a higher level than the grassroots level, but this has, similarly, not yet been achieved through modern processes.

Kunama

Interaction with modern mechanisms

Kunama issues are rarely dealt with through the block and Central Committee system used as conflict resolution tools in the camp. Disputes among the Kunama can be solved at the community level by the Langa Mana (mediators) or the Sanga Nena (traditional judge). It is only in serious cases, such as those involving the local community or other ethnic groups in the camp, that the camp's formal structures are used.

Block leaders are involved when cases have been referred to camp authorities or the police. Even in a Kunama-specific case that has been referred to the authorities or the police by the Sanga Nena, traditional actors continue to be involved in the mediation process. In a case that may have been referred to the police, such as a Kunama refusing to admit to murder accusations, the relatives of the accused may continue to seek consolation through traditional actors. Even if the accused has been convicted through modern mechanisms, the traditional actors will continue to assist the relatives of both sides to settle problems between the families in a peaceful manner.

Sanga Nena (traditional judge) and Kunama customary law

The Sanga Nena is a traditional judge who, according to Kunama customary law, intervenes in the most serious cases of conflict among the Kunama,

such as those involving homicide, blood or physical injury (for example, the breaking of an arm). Only the Sanga Nena has the authority to intervene in such cases. The Sanga Nena is a hereditary position and the person is thus not selected by the Kunama community. Before a Sanga Nena dies, he anoints a successor from his family – the current Sanga Nena, for example, was selected by his predecessor from Eritrea, who has now passed away.

The process of conflict resolution undertaken by the Sanga Nena is intended to bring about reconciliation and to rebuild peaceful relations between two conflicting parties. If a Kunama commits a crime, such as homicide, and enters the house of the Sanga Nena, the perpetrator will be guaranteed protection for up to two weeks. The Sanga Nena will then call the relatives of both parties to discuss the crime and warn them against retaliation through violence until the case can be heard in an open court. The relatives of the criminal must come to the trial prepared to pay a penalty for the crime. (The perpetrator has already admitted his or her guilt through the act of seeking refuge in the Sanga Nena's home.)

According to Kunama customary law, there is a fixed penalty for both male and female victims of homicide. The relatives receive four bundles of white cloth, spears and knives for a male victim, and household utensils for a female victim. As women are so highly respected in Kunama culture, their relatives additionally receive twelve goats or cattle.

After the penalty has been paid by the perpetrator's relatives, an open air ceremony takes place in order to rebuild relations between the two families. Two male representatives from both the victim's and the perpetrator's sides will be stripped of their clothes, except for their underpants. They will then shake each other's right hand, touch heads face to face and then link arms with each other, standing back to back. This process represents the making of peace between the relatives without bearing a grudge.

The men will then sit down facing each other whilst taking it in turns to cut and eat cooked bull's meat (the relative of the victim will do this first and then hand the knife to the relative of the perpetrator). The relative of the victim will then comb fat from the bull into the hair of the perpetrator's relative (this process will then be reversed) using a traditional comb made from sticks. The process signifies forgiveness by both families. The remaining bull's meat and a local drink prepared by the criminal's relatives will be served to those attending the ceremony, whilst the Sanga Nena gives his final blessing to consolidate the end to violence. All attendees at the ceremony will then gather at the victims' house to share food and drink prepared by the perpetrator's family.

This procedure is always successful in forging strong relations between two conflicting families, and the Sanga Nena's final verdict will always be respected within Kunama society. In the instance of a perpetrator not admitting to a serious crime, the case may then be referred to the police or to camp authorities by the Sanga Nena.

Langa Mana (elders/mediators)

The Langa Mana, or 'mediators', are a group of three widely respected elders selected by each Kunama village. The process of electing each village mediator is initiated by the people and facilitated by the village leader, and a mediator's length of term will depend upon his or her effectiveness over time. As conflicts within the Kunama are usually solved at the community level, the Langa Mana are the primary actors in the mediation process. If a case of conflict is reported to a village leader (who might also be a Langa Mana), the group of Langa Mana will be brought together to seek a peaceful outcome to the conflict. The types of conflict that the Langa Mana would be expected to mediate include domestic conflict, land/border disputes, cases of theft within the Kunama, and conflict between Kunama refugees and the local community.

If a land dispute regarding a border between Kunama neighbours is reported to the mediators, they will take the village leader and both the complainant and the accused to the site of the dispute. If it is not immediately known by whom the land is rightfully owned, the mediators will call all surrounding neighbours as witnesses. If the witnesses agree on who owns the land, the mediators can deliver the verdict at the site, and a penalty paid by the encroacher. The verdict delivered by the mediators is always accepted, as they are widely respected, having been elected by the people themselves and thus entrusted to make such decisions. This process is usually the same for all issues that the mediators will intervene in, in the Kunama community, and, in certain circumstances, the relatives of both parties will be required to attend the mediation process.

The penalty in Kunama customary law will also depend upon the crime. For example, in the case of theft of one goat, the penalty will be four goats, and the penalty to be paid for one stolen cow will be two cows. In a case of conflict involving a Kunama member and the local community – overgrazing of land, for example – the mediators may gather with the elders of the local community to seek a peaceful resolution. The Kunama mediators usually attempt to compromise on setting an appropriate penalty to be paid

by a thief or encroacher, but this is rarely adhered to if it was a member of the local community who committed the crime.

COMMON FEATURES OF TRADITIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Menkhaus asserts that common practice of traditional methods within Africa can generally be characterised as process-orientated rather than product-orientated.²⁶ Thus, the focus is predominantly on managing conflict through discussion and revisiting issues, rather than simply searching for quick solutions to achieve resolution.²⁷ Jannie Malan reasserts this with the notions of 'reconciliation' or 'participatory' politics, which generally focus on 'talking things out' to reach a consensus agreement that reflects the consensus of entire groups. In order to solidify such an agreement, a guilty party might also have to compensate the victims. Moreover, it is highlighted that the concern with relationships, or promoting relational inter-dependence, is a core element of traditional models.²⁸

One particular characteristic of traditional systems is that conflict management is experiential and undocumented. For example, Bozeman explains that traditional forms of conflict management in Africa emanate from 'established social practice' and 'are therefore comprehensive references, virtually synonymous with the entirety of social life'.²⁹ The systems manifest in, and are preserved through folklore, songs, rituals and other cultural and religious practices and, in advanced forms, in specific juridical institutions.³⁰ Osaghae also asserts that mediators usually derive their authority from religious roles or functions, old age, or other distinctive personal qualities or claims.³¹

RELEVANCE OF TRADITIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Regarding African traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, William I. Zartman highlights – and rightly so – the importance of such mechanisms as resources that can be utilised in contemporary conflicts in Africa.³² He places emphasis on the significance of finding commonalities that will assist in improving various mechanisms used in different African contexts.³³ Malan emphasises the need for the development of new, home-grown methods in which the best current practices and compatible traditions are integrated: use modern day 'best practices', incorporate traditional methods, and internalise 'interdependence' (i.e. relations between government authorities and

traditional chiefs/leaders).³⁴ Evidently, much of the literature that assesses traditional conflict resolution methods presents an ongoing debate as to whether or not they continue to be relevant, including capability of resolving modern day conflicts, and their compatibility with modern methods of conflict resolution.

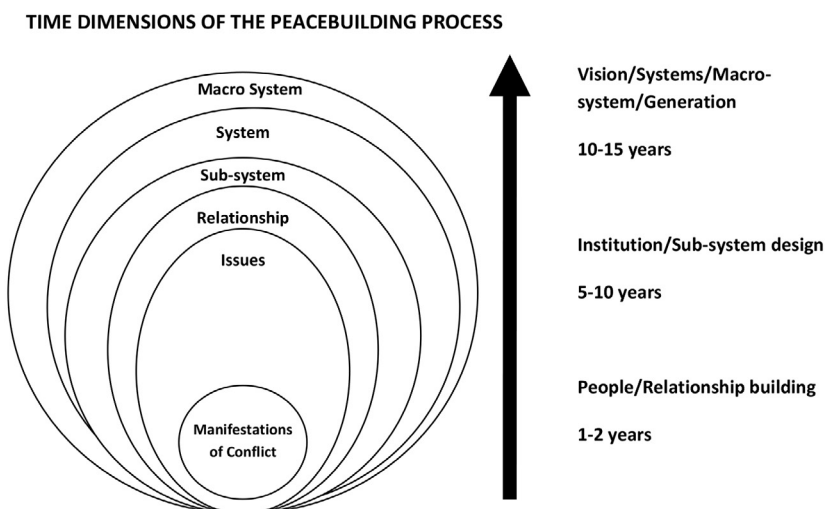
FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING THE CONTRIBUTION OF TRADITIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION TO RECONCILIATION PROCESSES

In Africa, the rebuilding of broken relationships (reconciliation) in post-conflict societies is seen as a continuous process that often evokes spiritual dimensions and an interconnected web that cannot be dealt with in isolation. Traditional leaders and approaches played an important role in peacebuilding processes in most of Africa's protracted conflicts, including Sierra Leone, Northern Uganda and Sudan, where traditional leaders, NGOs and diplomats have been involved in various ways in peacebuilding efforts. For example, in 1999, different faith-based development and peace organisations joined hands to raise awareness of the conflict in Sudan and Northern Uganda. A group from the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) continues to be instrumental in current efforts to bring lasting peace to Northern Uganda. In Sudan, different faith-based organisations have lobbied for the conflict to be put on the international agenda.

As referred to earlier, although traditional approaches play an important role in contemporary conflict resolution in Africa, they do not provide a panacea for conflict transformation that can be utilised at all times in all institutions.³⁵ The challenge comes in understanding how organisations, groups and individuals can interact with and strengthen traditional approaches in response to contemporary conflict, as well as increase their responsive capacity and complementarity with prevailing modern structures.

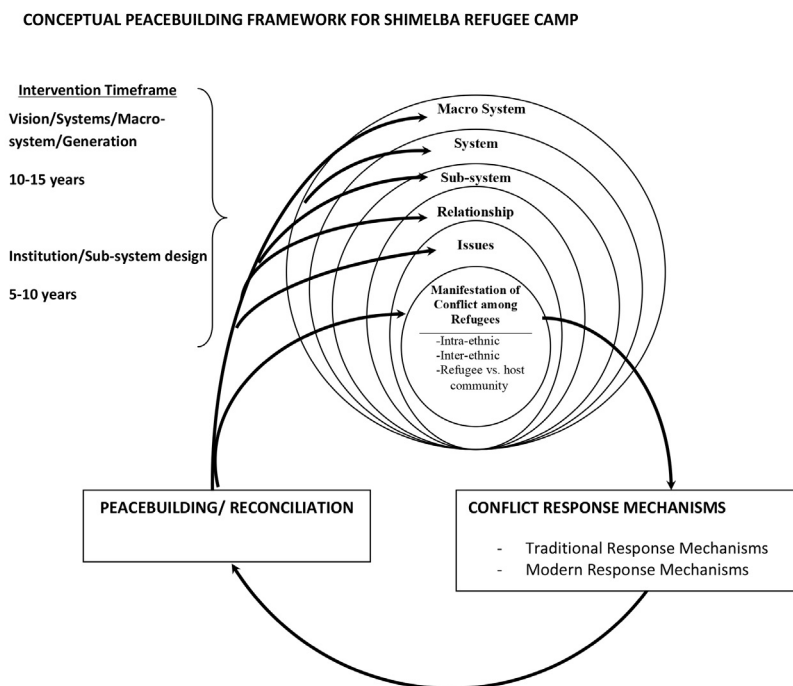
At the same time, as also stated earlier, part of the difficulty in understanding the concepts of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms in Africa arises from the fact that each tradition has not one, but many, mechanisms that can be used to resolve conflict. Findings from this research and others indicate that different ethnic groups use an array of mechanisms to address various conflict situations, depending on the nature and typology of conflict.³⁶ As such, it is impossible to bundle and interrogate traditional mechanisms as one homogenous entity.

Figure 7.1: Time dimensions of the peacebuilding process



The different perspectives from which African traditional conflict resolution mechanisms can be viewed – peacebuilding, human rights, socio-economic development, political, religious, psychological, socio-cultural – further explain some aspects of the origin of the complexity and confusion in defining and relating traditional mechanisms. This complexity adds to the challenges already faced by those seeking to interrogate conflict resolution mechanisms in refugee camps where there is a diverse ethnic make-up and location of origin, and where such mechanisms are bound to differ from one refugee community to another and from one camp to another.

As this paper identifies reconciliation as core to peacebuilding, it will use a discussion of a reconciliation framework to assess the strengths and weaknesses prevalent in traditional conflict resolution systems, focusing on the three dimensions of conflict experienced in refugee camps: 1) inter-camp; 2) intra-camp; and 3) refugee camp vs local community.

Figure 7.2: Conceptual peacebuilding framework for Shimelba refugee camp

Peacebuilding as conflict resolution or conflict transformation

The concept of peacebuilding has undergone theoretical examination from various scholarly perspectives. One such perspective is the conflict transformation approach, which focuses on the transformation of deep-rooted armed conflict into a peaceful one. Maire Dugan, for example, sees peacebuilding as both processual and dynamic, like the social relationships it seeks to transform. Since peacebuilding is both processual and dynamic, one must recognise the existence of irresolvable conflict, and this therefore suggests replacing the term 'conflict resolution' with 'conflict transformation'.³⁷ This approach acknowledges the inevitability and ubiquitous nature of conflict, hence the desire to combine short-term conflict management with long-term relationship building and transforming the root causes of conflict. The conflict transformation approach seeks to terminate an undesired situation by building something desired through the transformation of relationships and the construction of conditions for peace.

John Paul Lederach agrees with Dugan's reasoning regarding the transformative nature of peacebuilding as it relates to rebuilding relationships. He posits that peacebuilding involves the transformation of relationships,

in the sense that peacebuilding includes processes of change within a more expansive view of context and time. For Lederach, peacebuilding is not limited to the so-called concrete markers of peace, such as the signing of agreements or the cessation of hostilities. It is an ongoing, multi-faceted and holistic concept that should be tied to society's social, cultural, political, spiritual, economic and developmental fabric. Conflict transformation assumes that the consequences of conflict can be modified or transformed so that relationships and social structures improve as a result of conflict, instead of being harmed by it.³⁸ In addition, Lederach sees the need to rebuild destroyed relationships, focusing on reconciliation within society and the strengthening of society's peacebuilding potential. He argues that one of the most important needs is for peace-builders to 'find ways to understand peace as a change process based on relationship building'.

Understanding peace as a social change process requires designing interventions at various levels. Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid analyses three levels of interventions with players who can help to build peace and support reconciliation. The pyramid analytical framework provides a holistic overview of affected societies and their populations, which represent various stakeholders, including leaders of governments, armed groups (rebel groups) and grassroots leaders, all of whom play differing roles in conflict. Lederach's framework is a practical tool, although viewed by some as a simplistic division of a complex web of relationships within a conflict context. The division provides areas and levels of interventions, with suggested practical activities that can be used to begin the long process of peacebuilding. A departure from the hitherto reliance on political settlements and short-term interventions after violent conflict, the framework offers do-able and durable approaches to transforming conflict emanating from political, economic, cultural, ideological and psychological causes. For example, empowerment of the middle level is assumed to influence peacebuilding at the macro and grassroots levels.

In Africa, the rebuilding of broken relationships (reconciliation) in post-conflict societies is viewed as a continuous process that invokes the spirits. The rebuilding process is seen as an interconnected web of elements that cannot be dealt with in isolation. Lederach and Assefa, for example, view relationship building in different spheres and on different levels.³⁹ For Lederach, reconciliation is the place where justice, peace, truth and mercy meet. He perceives reconciliation to be both a locus and a focus:

As a perspective, reconciliation is built on and oriented toward the relational aspects of a conflict. As a social phenomenon, reconciliation represents a

space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet. Reconciliation must be proactive in seeking to create an encounter where people can focus on their relationship and share their perceptions, feelings and experiences with one another, with the goal of creating new perceptions and a new shared experience.⁴⁰

The basis for this approach, according to Lederach, is anchored firstly on *relationships*, which form both the basis for the conflict as well as the solution. This sounds simple, but the consequences are profound, since reconciliation is not fostered by minimising affiliations between contending groups, but rather by creating ways of engaging in 'relations with other human beings'. According to Lederach, this involves the painful exercise of looking back and acknowledging a hurtful past.

Secondly, reconciliation, in essence, represents a *place* for encounter and engagement of contending groups, and where concerns about the past and the future can get together. This involves looking at the future together without getting trapped in a vicious cycle blaming the other and excluding them from the process. Thus, Lederach asserts, reconciliation is about envisioning an interdependent and shared future together, and contending issues need to be dealt with in light of this 'higher goal'.

Thirdly, reconciliation requires a wider perspective than the international political traditions, discourse and operational modalities. Considering the characteristics of contemporary conflict, sustainable peace is not drawn up at the negotiation table with heads of states. The immediacy of hatred, distrust, prejudice and racism, as pivotal causes of conflict, requires that the transformation of conflict also be grounded in social-psychological and spiritual dimensions, which have traditionally been regarded as irrelevant to and outside international diplomacy.⁴¹

Hizkias Assefa views reconciliation as the restoration of relationships. He describes reconciliation as reconciling with God, the self, neighbours and nature.⁴² This can also be translated as reconciliation in four different, but not separate dimensions: the spiritual, social-psychological, social and ecological.

Complementary to, though different from his more philosophical handling of the concept of reconciliation, Assefa also perceives reconciliation as a form of conflict management – in other words, conflict resolution. Reconciliation, as a conflict handling mechanism, entails the following core process elements:

- a. Honest acknowledgement of the harm/injury each party has inflicted on the other;
- b. Sincere regret and remorse for the injury done;
- c. Readiness to apologise for one's role in inflicting the injury;
- d. Readiness of the conflicting parties to 'let go' of the anger and bitterness caused by the conflict and the injury;
- e. Sincere efforts to redress past grievances that caused the conflict, and to compensate for the damage caused to the extent possible;
- f. Entering into a new, mutually enriching relationship.

Reconciliation thus refers to this new relationship that emerges as a consequence of these processes. What most people refer to as 'healing' is the mending of deep emotional wounds (generated by the conflict) that follows the reconciliation process.

The Kunama of Eritrea, for example, use this approach in reconciling communities and individuals who have been embroiled in violent conflict. By merely walking into the home of the *Sanga Nena*, a perpetrator is acknowledging guilt, expressing remorse and regret for the offense, and demonstrating a readiness to apologise for the offense and to rebuild the relationship. This reconciliation methodology differs from other conflict handling mechanisms (e.g. force, adjudication, arbitration, negotiation or mediation) in that the essence of reconciliation is the voluntary initiative of the parties in conflict to acknowledge their responsibility and guilt.⁴³

In sum, thinking about African traditional conflict resolution mechanisms on a conceptual level is both useful and necessary. It helps us try to grasp the nature and character of these mechanisms and to give at least a sense of what they mean and what processes they involve.

Volker Boege offers three dimensions of traditional approaches to conflict transformation including the aims, process and context.⁴⁴ All in all, reconciliation is multi-*dimensional* and the many different facets, observations, experiences and theories all contribute to a fuller understanding and, in time, a better practise of these processes. Boege's work provides us with a comprehensive framework that offers huge potential to assist in making an inventory of the situation.

I am not suggesting a homogenous, one-size-fits-all approach. In fact, previous findings⁴⁵ indicate that there is no single method available and that different groups use different mechanisms to address various conflict situations, depending on the nature and typology of conflict. For purposes of clarity and practicality, I am attempting to lay out a limited number of approaches utilised by the study population. Identification of these approaches

has enabled me to adapt a framework developed by John Paul Lederach,⁴⁶ Hizkias Assefa⁴⁷ and Volker Boege⁴⁸ that offers an opportunity to develop a clear picture regarding the various processes and practical implications for peacebuilding programme development and implementation.

The framework includes legal, social-cultural and religious-spiritual processes. These components may include, among others, truth, healing, justice, reparation and forgiveness. *How* these components are perceived and operationalised will depend highly on the context.

Peacebuilding through reconciliation

The central challenge in Shimelba refugee camp is how to reduce and prevent conflict and lay the groundwork for sustainable peace. In doing so, it is first necessary to interrogate what is meant by the terms 'peacebuilding' and 'conflict transformation', and how they might apply to the Shimelba refugee camp context.

Lederach, like Maire Dugan, emphasises the rebuilding of relationships as being the transformative core of peacebuilding. According to Lederach:

... a sustainable transformative approach suggests that the key lies in the relationship of the involved parties, with all that term encompasses at the psychological, spiritual, social, economic, political, and military levels.⁴⁹

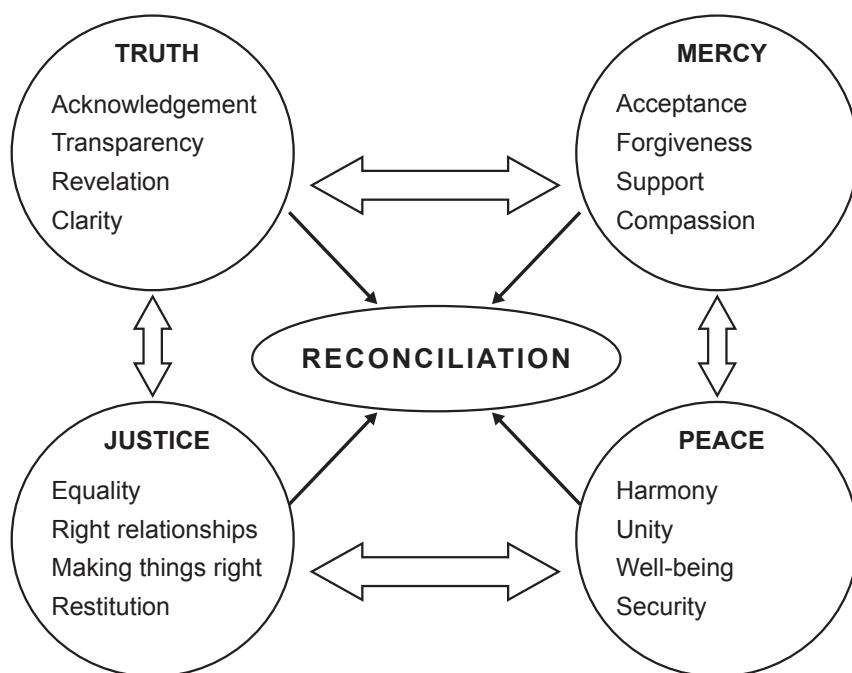
Thus, peacebuilding, argues Lederach, is not characterised by the signing of agreements or cessation of hostilities. Peacebuilding is rather an ongoing, multi-faceted and holistic process that is fundamentally tied to society's social, cultural, political, spiritual, economic and developmental fabrics. Transforming conflict, then, requires the rebuilding of destroyed or weakened relationships and focusing on reconciliation more broadly in the society.

Lederach views reconciliation as the 'reconstitution of relationships'.⁵⁰ Reconciliation, he states, involves conflict parties voluntarily coming together to acknowledge a hurtful past and envision an interdependent and shared future together.⁵¹ In the long term, reconciliation 'constitutes the heart of deep peacemaking and cultural peacebuilding', bringing 'disparate groups together into genuine societies'.⁵² He states:

As a perspective, reconciliation is built on and oriented toward the relational aspects of a conflict. As a social phenomenon, reconciliation represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet.

Reconciliation must be proactive in seeking to create an encounter where people can focus on their relationship and share their perceptions, feelings and experiences with one another, with the goal of creating new perceptions and a new shared experience.⁵³

In turn, reconciliation requires a wider perspective than the international political traditions, discourse and operational modalities generally offer. Reconciliation, Lederach argues, cannot be instituted by heads of state; rather it must be grounded in the social-psychological and spiritual dimensions of the society in conflict.⁵⁴ Figure 7.3 is based on Lederach's conceptual view of reconciliation as the place where justice, peace, truth and mercy meet. I have adapted Lederach's framework slightly in order to clearly show that while truth, mercy, justice and peace are all components of reconciliation, they are not mutually exclusive: each component of reconciliation reinforces the others.



Adapted from Lederach, 1997.

As stated earlier, the way these components are perceived and operationalised will depend highly on the context. Of importance is a discussion regarding how this conception of reconciliation fits into the refugee camp context specifically, and the African context more broadly.

CONCLUSION

Lederach's conceptual framework for reconciliation outlines the major elements that must be incorporated into all reconciliation processes in order to achieve sustainable reconciliation. The sub-components in *truth* include, according to Lederach, acknowledgement, transparency, revelation and clarity. Truth is incomplete, according to this framework, if it does not reveal the perceptions, fears and emotions that accompanied violence or conflict in a society. In addition, perpetrators must admit to wrongdoing in an open and transparent process where all participants become aware of what really happened and why it happened. Once truth is revealed, victims of violence will be in a better position to bestow mercy on their perpetrators.⁵⁵

This is the situation where victims beg to differ. In the case of the Kunama of Eritrea, for example, generations of marginalisation and discrimination have left a whole community so hopeless that it does not matter who makes efforts at reconciliation. Their hopes are pinned on no one but themselves. African traditional mechanisms do have a place in contemporary conflict resolution, peacebuilding and development, but they must be adapted and redefined for every situation and every context. The variety of contexts need to, and should, be dealt with individually and adapted to the realities of each individual case or situation.

Zartman has presented the argument that the persistent nature of violent conflict in Africa could suggest that home-grown measures at dampening escalation and preventing violence have failed, and, moreover, that today's conflicts elude traditional management methods. This is because modern challenges indicate new types of conflict that contest state authority and that reject community solidarity that has been destroyed by a combination of globalising experience and parochial ambitions.⁵⁶ In a similar vein, it has also been argued that traditional means of dealing with conflict are mainly applicable to, and useful in, resolving simple disputes – matrimonial disputes, intra-family quarrels and land disputes – which are not as threatening or complex as conflict on the national scale. As this paper has clearly demonstrated, and this is supported by Menkhaus,⁵⁷ particular interests or

the political agendas of traditional leaders could limit their role as a force for peace.

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Guns and Cows

The Role Played by the Government of Uganda and Civil Society Organisations to Disarm the Karimojong in Karamoja

Sidonia Angom

INTRODUCTION

Weapons collection from undisciplined or violent groups – or disarmament of armed rustlers – is critical for reconstruction of communities for sustainable development. Removing small arms or tools of violence from societies is a necessary corollary of small arms control, and the most distinctive part of what the United Nations calls ‘practical disarmament measures’.¹ While the discourse on the impact of small arms in developing countries centres on the security of communities, disarmament activities contribute to the creation of strong states, by ensuring that arms are only in the hands of state organs.

Previous policy and practice have favoured international and national levels of analysis to develop a standard model of micro-disarmament that has sometimes created a gap between the object to be secured – that is, the individuals – and the actual means of achieving a subjective state of security. Indeed, the disregard of local culture and traditions by such initiatives, by and large, reflects ignorance of the impact this brings to the pastoral communities, who have traditionally used arms and violence to rustle cows for survival purposes.

The Karimojong, who live in the north-eastern part of Uganda, traditionally survive by keeping cattle. For a long time, they have used arms to rustle cattle from neighbouring districts in Uganda, as well as from pastoralist communities in Kenya and Southern Sudan. Their well-documented armed rustling activities have devastating effects, not only on the Karimojong themselves, but also on the neighbouring region and countries. This has prompted both the colonial and post-colonial governments of Uganda, together with civil society organisations, to take up the disarmament approach to contain violence in the region.

In this paper, I attempt to analyse the various approaches taken by the different governments in Uganda – including the colonial government – to disarm the Karimojong, and the resultant impact on the communities.

Firstly, I highlight the proliferation of weapons in Karamoja and then analyse the underpinning beliefs held by the Karimojong communities that they own guns to protect themselves and their livestock from armed neighbours (such as the Turkana and Pokot from Kenya, and the Toposa and Didinga from Southern Sudan), who have traditionally rustled their cattle. Secondly, I give particular attention to the impact of both the voluntary and forceful disarmament processes that took place in 2001 and 2002–2005, respectively, which have resulted in the loss of lives and property and have left a large portion of the Karimojong communities traumatised and impoverished. I conclude by giving an opinion on whether or not the Karimojong are ready for peaceful coexistence² with themselves and with their neighbours.

As a source of information, I collected and read secondary data obtained from Uganda's Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), through the Karamoja Integrated Development Programme (KIDP), and from selected civil society organisations (CSOs) that participated in the implementation of the disarmament programme for Karamoja region. The KIDP is a medium-term development framework specifically tailored to address the unique context and development challenges in Karamoja region. The overall goal of the KIDP is to contribute to human security and promote conditions for recovery and development in Karamoja. The programme takes cognisance of the National Development Plan (NDP) and the Peace, Recovery and Development Programme (PRDP). It harmonises the various development interventions by government, bilateral and multilateral development partners, and international and national non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). It therefore represents an attempt by the government of Uganda (GoU) to integrate gun collection (disarmament) with development interventions, conflict management and peacebuilding – hence using development to achieve peace. I have also referred to scholarly papers focusing on human security, conflict resolution and disarmament in the writing of this paper.

KARAMOJA AND THE KARIMOJONG PASTORALISTS

Karamoja lies in north-eastern Uganda, bordering: South Sudan to the north; Kenya to the east; the Ugandan districts of Mbale and Kapchorwa to the south; and Kumi, Katakwi, Lira and Kitgum to the west. Karamoja region covers a semi-arid area of 27 000 square kilometres and occupies 10 per cent of Uganda's land area.³ The region is approximately the size of Belgium. It is divided into seven administrative districts, namely, Abim,

Amudat, Kaabong, Kotido Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Napak. The districts are further divided into counties, which roughly correspond to the main sections of the Karimojong pastoralist tribes and other tribes of the region, including the Labwor, Pokot, Dodoth, Jie, Matheniko, Pian-Chekwii and Bokora, in that order. Less than 20 per cent of about 1.2 to 1.4 million people of the country's population live in this region and share a similar language and lifestyle.⁴ However, there are other minority groups, such as the Labwor of Abim district, who practice subsistence farming, and the Ik of Kaabong district, who are hunter gatherers in the mountains.⁵

The spiritual, economic and social life of the Karimojong revolves entirely around the breeding and keeping of cattle.⁶ This particular way of life has created conflict with past governments, as attempts to introduce other means of livelihood by successive governments in Uganda have not only been resisted, but have added to mistrust by the communities, who misinterpret the approaches as a ploy to rid them of their cows. As a result, many well-intentioned projects and programmes have had no serious local participation and commitment. This is one of the reasons why the region has remained under-serviced and under-developed, beset by general insecurity and marked by several layers of conflict.⁷ The layers of conflict here are four-fold: firstly, inter-tribal clashes between the various pastoralists groups in Karamoja, such as the Bokora, Matheniko, Dodoth and Jie; secondly, raiding of their predominantly agriculturalist neighbours in Uganda, such as the Acholi, Sabiny, Langi and Iteso; thirdly, the mutual clashes with other pastoralist tribes in neighbouring countries, such as the Turkana and Pokot of Kenya, and the Toposa and Didinga of South Sudan; and fourthly, conflict with the state.

This probably explains why Karamoja region has the highest human poverty index (HPI) in Uganda, with: Kotido at 53.8 per cent, compared to the national average of 37.5 per cent; the central region at 31.5 per cent; the northern region at 46.1 per cent; the western region at 39.0 per cent; and the eastern region at 37.1 per cent. The welfare, living conditions, and quality of life of the people in Karamoja have declined considerably, due to a combination of factors that include the harsh climate, marginalisation, illiteracy and poor infrastructure. Karamoja has the lowest HDI rating, with Kotido at 0.194, compared to the national average of 0.4491.⁸

The origin of these pastoralist groups is believed to be the 'aborigines' of the East African plains, which are held to be the cradle of humankind.⁹ They have lived for centuries on these dry lands, having developed a livelihood based on raising livestock. This development took place at least 4 000 years ago. Due to the arid and semi-arid conditions, nomadic pastoralism is the main and most viable

economic activity and the main source of livelihood in the area. Despite this fact, under the National Parks Act of 1964 (under Chapter 227), 36 per cent of Karamoja land was gazetted as protected areas for Kidepo Valley National Park and forest reserves. Grazing of cattle, settlement and cultivation of crops were prohibited in these areas, although these restrictions are not currently effectively enforced in all Karamoja areas.¹⁰ The disparity between the availability of pasture and water and the demand for them makes natural resource-based conflicts inevitable in the region when the Karimojong are searching for pasture and water for their livestock during the dry season.¹¹

As the populations of cattle and people grew, they created more pressure and competition for access to existing natural resources, particularly pasture lands and water from neighbouring districts. It is on record that violent cattle raids are perhaps the main manifestation of conflict and socio-cultural turbulence in the area.¹² The Karimojong view the cow as a symbol of wealth and status, which is perhaps what encourages the cattle raids that have sustained conflict and insecurity in the area.¹³ The emergence of a gun culture appears to have exacerbated the raiding of cattle from other districts in Uganda, as well as from the neighbouring countries of Kenya and South Sudan.

THE GENESIS OF GUNS IN KARAMOJA

Firearms first made their appearance in Karamoja in the late nineteenth century. They were in the hands of ivory hunters and traders, the majority of whom came from Ethiopia. The British colonial power at the time became concerned, principally for geopolitical reasons, about the rumours of gun running in the inroads of the territories of Karamoja and Ethiopia being made by Ethiopian warlords, who were possibly representing the rapidly expanding Ethiopian Empire of Menelik II.¹⁴ This ungoverned and distant frontier was potentially strategic for continuing control of the Nile. In 1911, a British patrol was sent to establish British authority, to chase the Ethiopians and other unsavoury rascals out, and to disarm the tribesmen. The commander of the patrol reported great success in seizing large quantities of arms from the local tribesmen.¹⁵

However, one author, who has written a detailed historical background of this region, convincingly disputes these claims of large numbers of guns in the hands of local people.¹⁶ Although tribesmen did acquire a few firearms, they continued to rely on their traditional weaponry and indigenous military tactics in waging warfare with neighbouring groups. When pressured by the

British patrol, the tribesmen surrendered the few guns they possessed with little struggle, if at all. By 1921, the British had firmly established a military administration in Karamoja, and guns were not allowed in the hands of any local people, except the chief, whom the British appointed. This situation was to continue for the next few decades.

Until about the 1950s, the weapons used by the Karimojong for defending themselves and protecting their cattle from outside raiders tended to be sticks, spears, bows and arrows. However, as firearms were acquired in the 1970s by various neighbouring tribes, home-made guns, called *amatida*, were the most commonly used tool by the Karimojong, besides their traditional weapons. They later acquired modern weapons, such as the AK-47, G3, SMG (sub-machine gun), SLR (self-loading rifle), LMG (light machine gun) and pistols that became common in almost all households of the Karimojong pastoralists after the fall of President Idi Amin in 1979.¹⁷

The contemporary gun culture in the region is, to a certain extent, a result of the failure by subsequent Ugandan governments to reverse the perceived historical marginalisation of Karamoja region in the provision of services and the protection of Karimojong interests in terms of their natural resources and wealth (cattle). The misguided colonial state policy that gazetted and appropriated large parts of the pastoralists' communal lands triggered conflict between the pastoralists and the state and contributed to the strong impulse among pastoralists to acquire firearms to match or counter state violence.¹⁸

When Karamoja was declared a closed zone and placed under martial law, in November 1911,¹⁹ the colonial administration was still able to plunder and repress the local residents at will. With the outbreak of the World War II, Britain recruited heavily among the Karimojong and Turkana ethnic communities, because of their ethno-military culture.²⁰ The Karimojong served with distinction as guards (*askari*) for the Kings African Rifles (KAR) during military campaigns conducted in Africa and Asia. Therefore, it is probably safe to assume that, in post-colonial raids, the Karimojong used the weapons and skills they obtained during the colonial wars.

Various reports on the Karamoja conflict indicate that the effects of the colonial regime on the traditional pastoralist society encompassed, among others: loss of land and other natural resources, leading to instability and impoverishment; violent conflict among neighbouring communities over scarce resources; insecure land tenure in pastoral areas; alienation, through the process of adjudication and registration, which continued to threaten the survival of pastoralists and other natural resource dependents like hunters and gatherers; and population pressure on high-potential areas,

encouraging in-migration in pastoral areas.²¹ One anthropologist argued that the weapons themselves are not the cause of violence in Karamoja, but re-enforced a process of division that was already underway amongst the clans, due to ecological degradation, and to colonial and post-colonial policies.²²

While the history of arms acquisition and their effect on the nature of cattle raiding is well-documented in the literature of Karamoja, in the decade of the 1960s, the Turkana from the west (Kenya) and the Toposa from the north (South Sudan), armed with modern firearms, especially high-powered rifles, began frequent incursions into Karamoja, raiding cattle and whatever else they could take. By many reports, the armed police of the GoU, who were stationed in Karamoja to maintain law and order, were completely ineffectual in protecting the communities and in responding to the external attacks on the Karimojong. They would waste precious pursuit time interviewing the victims of raids at great length, and filling out long forms with useless information. They would ask the victims what the raiders' likely path of flight might be, but would leave behind the local herdsmen who might have been able to follow the tracks of the stolen cattle. The police would not confront the Turkana and Toposa raiders, who were well-armed and experienced in fighting in the terrain of Karamoja, and who could easily defeat the police militarily.

According to one report, while the police were strict about enforcing the law that forbade ownership of guns by the local people, their efforts were undermined by their lack of understanding of the Karimojong culture and world view.²³ The same report, and many others, described that this frustrating predicament continued until the military coup d'état by General Idi Amin in 1971, which brought a different armed force into the region. Amin's army took over the job of stopping the raiders, and claimed to have been much more efficient than the previous police or army. It would pursue the raiders with a vengeance and recover much of the stolen livestock; but rather than returning the captured livestock to their rightful owners, the soldiers would confiscate the stolen animals and sell them to local cattle traders. As a result, the Karimojong lost hope in the protection role expected from the state army or police.

The proliferation and misuse of guns in Karamoja, especially since the end of the 1970s, became the most important factor that affected the region and its people. Because of the remoteness of the area, the rugged terrain, the under-developed infrastructure, and the migratory nature of pastoralists, the security sector's struggle to contain gun-related violence in the region met with limited success. The post-colonial regimes in Uganda did

not improve matters for the Karimojong either, until after the last forceful disarmament of 2004/2005.

Another report points out that the flare-up point for gun acquisition in Karamoja was in 1979 when, through the combined efforts of the Tanzanian Army and Ugandan exiles, the Idi Amin regime was toppled.²⁴ The soldiers fleeing from Karamoja abandoned armouries full of small arms and light weapons, which the locals lost no time in looting and ferrying away. Soon, there were almost more guns than homesteads in Karamoja. In the absence of law and order that was promoted by the British colonial policy of non-interference in Karamoja, the gun became the tool of settling disputes, as well as a symbol of power amongst the Karimojong people.

As can be noted from the above, guns did not come into Karamoja by accident, but due to the real and existing threat to security and inadequate protection of the lives and property of the Karimojong communities. In June 2002, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) Director of Political and Humanitarian Affairs, Dr Daniel Yifru, said that there were over 5 000 000 guns in the hands of pastoralists in the Horn of Africa.²⁵ In this respect, Karamoja region was awash with guns that came from the war in Sudan, the northern Uganda conflict of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and even from as far as Somalia and Ethiopia, as reported earlier.²⁶ Omwony Ojok (RIP) is quoted as saying, 'lack of government control in parts of Sudan that border Uganda has made it impossible to destroy the gun markets flourishing in the region of Karamoja'.²⁷ IGAD is now focusing on the 5 000 000 guns on the loose among the 189 000 000 inhabitants of this most conflict-prone part of the world.

Consequently, as a result of the spill-over effect, the nature of the Karimojong conflict, increased gun trafficking across the clan clusters, and the porous borders, it became hard for the government of Uganda to develop Karamoja region, resulting in very poor social indicators. With respect to human security, it is safe to say that there is little protection and empowerment to shield the Karimojong communities from the dangers and stress caused by the absence of responses to their needs.

DISARMAMENT IN PRACTICE

Various regimes and actors since colonial times have grappled with the challenge of disarming the Karimojong warriors. The attempts and approaches employed by the various regimes and actors have been reported to have always been forceful.

Colonial government – 1903–1962

The first-ever attempt was in 1903, when a roving patrol was dispatched from Jinja to Karamoja by the British colonial government to stop cattle raids and gun trafficking, which were fuelled by the Arab and Swahili ivory traders. At that time, a grass rifle was being exchanged at the rate of three guns for 10 cows.²⁸

In July 1912, a permanent northern garrison was constituted and sent to Karamoja to disarm the local people and stop inter-tribal raids. The garrison met with stiff resistance from the Karimojong, and it was only through systematic scorched earth methods that it succeeded in subduing the natives. Huts were burnt, crops slashed down and livestock seized. The British managed to disarm the Karimojong from 1912 to 1921, and Karamoja was put under military occupation until independence in 1962.

The beginning of independence was a time of intensive military activity by the state to stop cattle rustling once and for all. Security roads were opened across the remote passes, police posts were built and manned, and air strips were constructed for spotter planes to monitor and report every assembly and any movement of cattle. From 1961 to 1962, the government launched a programme, popularly recalled by Karimojong elders as *Mukuki*, meaning the collection and burning of all spears, bows and arrows in Karamoja. The use of spears and guns was put under strict regulations.²⁹ The move was aimed at removing all instruments of violence from the community. From colonial governments to date, the disarmament of the Karimojong pastoralists and the stopping of violence in the region has been seen as a key factor if law and order is to be maintained. However, the above interventions by the colonial governments seem to have been short-lived; programmes seemed to have been imposed by government on the people without any sustainability plan.

Milton Obote – 1962–1970 and 1980–1985

In 1962, when Uganda obtained its independence, the use of force in Obote's first attempt made an enemy of the pastoralists and created bitter mistrust among the Karimojong. Then came his second attempt, with the disarmament plan of December 1980 to July 1984, when he conducted another forceful disarmament in Karamoja, popularly referred by local people as *Ekaru a Nakooko*, meaning 'year of helicopters'.³⁰ Military helicopters were used to conduct operations that rounded up animals and killed many people, with a three-week ultimatum given to the people to surrender their guns. No sensitisation was done, nor any attempt made to discuss the

issues and acceptable strategies with the affected communities. Besides, no mechanism was put in place to cater for the security demands of the people. As a result, this action left the Karimojong without guns, thus exposing them and their livestock to the Kenyan Pokot and Turkana, who intensified cattle raids in Karamoja, as the disarmament shifted the balance of power among the hitherto warring pastoralists.

Idi Amin – 1971–1979

According to Amodoi, during Idi Amin's rule, between 1971 and 1979, a forceful dress code was introduced, whereby the Karimojong were forced to abandon their traditional attire.³¹ This met with stiff resistance from the communities, which led to the 1973 massacre of over 300 people in Nawaikorot village in Bokora county — now Napak district. In 1975, the government issued the Land Reform Decree, initiating major reforms without public debate or prior warning and sensitisation. The measure declared all land in Uganda to be public, held in trust for the people and administered by the Uganda Land Commission.³² For the Karimojong, this implied that they were tenants of the state, and that the land they used could be appropriated at any time without notice.

Box 8.1 – LAND TENURE AND ADMINISTRATION

The Land Reform Decree promulgated by Idi Amin's government, though not fully implemented, remained on the books until 1995, when a new constitution was enacted that affected the tenure systems and tenure security. The current land tenure provisions, introduced by the 1995 Constitution, were made operational by the Land Act of 1998. The 1995 Constitution holds that land in Uganda belongs to the citizens and sets out the various land tenure systems: customary, freehold, leasehold, and Mailo land tenures.³³ It also introduced a new system of land administration, consisting of land boards in every district. The Uganda Land Commission remained in place, but the 1995 Constitution made it clear that district land boards were to operate independently of the commission. However, while the boards were expected to take account of national and district council policies, most of them remain dysfunctional, due to lack of approval and funding.

The biggest hurdle for the promulgators of the above systems was the absence of precedent and the capacity to effectively implement the proposed land management framework, especially in the Karimojong communities. The Land Act of 1998 said nothing of the need to protect the pastoralists' rights to land, but proposed the formation of Communal Land Associations (CLAs) and Common Land Management Schemes (CLMS) for communal ownership and management of land, whether under customary law or otherwise.³⁴ Regardless, none of these structures have been supported by the government, even in areas like Karamoja, where they would have gone a long way towards securing the rights of communities to vital grazing resources and mineral rights posing more threats to the local communities.

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni – 1986 to date

Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) took power in 1986. In the following year, a new trend was launched to disarm the Karimojong, using 'cordon and search' operations. The people were rounded up from their homes and subjected to a method of torture popularly known as 'three piece', or *Kandoya*, whereby people's arms and legs were tied together at the back until the elbows met and the chest was forced to protrude forward, causing severe pain in the ribs and the internal organs in the chest cavity. This method left many people crippled and economically unproductive, and instead of achieving the disarmament objectives, the campaign triggered more resentment towards government.

The 'three piece' operations were popularly resisted, and clashes between the military and warriors became common occurrences. The Karimojong obtained more guns from the National Resistance Army (NRA), which was unable to match the battle strength and tactics of the Karimojong warriors. As a result of this setback, the NRM government changed its tactics, by integrating warriors in their ranks as vigilantes under the command of government army officers. In this way, the Karimojong were allowed to register and own guns, using them this time under the watchful eye of government, who viewed them as having no political ambitions³⁵ – and whose NRA forces were too busy fighting Joseph Kony and the LRA.

The realisation that forceful disarmament was not successful, but instead prompted the Karimojong to re-arm themselves, led President Yoweri Museveni to opt for a peaceful disarmament plan, which was launched on 2 December 2001.³⁶ The design of the plan was two-fold: Phase I required the

voluntary handover of all illegal guns; if this failed (which was inevitable), then Phase II would involve forceful removal of the remaining guns. Government was deeply concerned about making Karamoja a better and more peaceful place to live, compared to the past, when gun-wielding warriors pervasively terrorised the people with impunity.

During the voluntary phase of the disarmament programme, President Museveni used the strategy of meeting with various social groups that included women and elders to address their specific demands and concerns in order to encourage disarmament. Museveni appealed to the women of Karamoja to take a leading role in the weapons collection programme, as it was the only way to 'peace, unity and development'.³⁷ Many women responded by attending meetings and appealing to their husbands and sons individually at home to return the guns. Other stakeholders in Karamoja, including CSOs, were heavily involved in both the sensitisation and disarmament activities. Their successful involvement culminated in the recovery of up to 6 452 guns voluntarily submitted to the government.

Grassroots women

Women played a very important role in receiving and handing in the weapons, especially to the army and Civil-Military Operation Centres (CMOCs).³⁸ CMOCs were innovations in partnerships between the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF), CSOs, religious leaders, the Uganda Human Rights Commission, and the Danish International Development Agency's (DANIDA) Human Rights and Democratization Program. Created and established in the different districts of the region, they had a mandate to report on the progress of the disarmament programme and to record human rights abuses. Some men feared being arrested, despite a general amnesty having been declared during the voluntary disarmament phase, when no arrests were to be carried out whatsoever. Many men felt that women were less likely to be interrogated about the origin of the gun and this led many women to participate in returning the guns. Many of the guns that women returned and surrendered to the soldiers were reported to be in poor condition, giving credence to the thinking that the men kept the good guns and handed in the rusted and non-functional ones.

The passing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on 31 October 2000, as described by Kofi Annan, was a landmark step in raising awareness of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, and of the vital role of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.³⁹ The response and participation of the grassroots women in handing in the guns before their husbands, during

the disarmament in Karamoja, is a clear demonstration of the role women play in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, as originally envisioned in the conflict resolution field by Elise Boulding.⁴⁰

During this voluntary Phase I of disarmament, several incentives had also been promised to each person surrendering a weapon: a certificate for each weapon relinquished, a bag of maize meal and an ox plough. For local leaders who successfully mobilised their communities to comply, 40 iron sheets were also pledged. These items were recommended as appropriate rewards by an earlier Parliamentary Task Force, following discussions they had supposedly held with the communities. Unfortunately, the government ran out of money to supply the maize meal, the ox ploughs and the 40 iron sheets that were pledged.⁴¹ Many sources reported that the method of distribution of the rewards was not transparent at the village level; many people suspected that corruption at the district level was preventing fair and equitable distribution. In general, people were disappointed with the weapons exchange scheme. The non-delivery of goods discouraged their motivation to voluntarily surrender their weapons. Nonetheless, about 1 224 guns were collected.⁴²

The deadline for voluntary disarmament was 2 January 2002, but this was extended to 15 February 2002. Interventions by CSOs were not strong then, because matters of security and conflict resolution were mainly viewed as the domain of government. By the end of February 2002, Karimojong's defiance of the disarmament programme led the government to lose patience and change its approach quite dramatically. Major Shaban Bantariza, who was by then the government spokesman, told the UN news agency IRIN that the army had decided to move in and forcibly disarm the Karimojong, because they had largely ignored and refused to heed the call to surrender their guns under the voluntary disarmament programme launched by President Yoweri Museveni.⁴³

Through forceful means, 10 686 guns had been collected by the government by January 2003.⁴⁴ The use of force was revived again in 2004 and 2005, and this brought in about 30 000 guns. The strategy for collecting guns had changed: the soldiers now surrounded the Karimojong homes (known as Mayattas) and search them for arms. This military operation was riddled with human rights abuse, such as looting, beatings, rape, burning homesteads and arbitrary detention.⁴⁵ Hundreds of civilians and thousands of cattle were killed during the operation, which also saw helicopter gunships used to confront civilians equipped with only small arms. Indeed, the report from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights indicates that the government's 'cordon and search' approach to disarmament

resulted in human rights abuses. The Karimojong who were suspected of having guns were taken to military barracks for long periods of detention, and some died as a result of the harsh treatment received at the hands of the army. Suspects were told they had to return their guns before being set free, and in some cases this led to relatives acquiring guns through any means – including buying them – to help secure the release of their kinsmen.

Civil society organisations

It was during this Phase II of the disarmament exercise that faith-based organisations (FBOs) and CSOs – including Riamiriam based in Moroto; Kotido Peace Initiative (KOPEIN) based in Kotido; Dodoth Agropastoral Development Organisation (DADO) based in Kaabong; and the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) – came into play and laid down strategies of engagement and dialogue with the army to try to minimise the escalation of human rights violations during the disarmament. It became apparent to the CSOs that the resolution of conflict was not just a matter of maintaining law and order; there was also the socio-economic dimension to consider, in view of the altered livelihoods, displacement, and wanton loss of lives and property.

This realisation is what led government to consider CSO interventions, beginning with religious institutions such as the Catholic and Anglican churches. In this respect, CSOs started to recognise the potential synergies that could be tapped through the development of networks, as opposed to carrying out individual ventures that had characterised previous interventions. This then led them to work hand-in-hand with the GoU to improve the security situation of the region.

CHALLENGES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT

The issue of Karamoja has left one major question unanswered. That question is, *Is disarmament without the provision of alternative security for the Karimojong tenable?*

The truth about this community is that it has limited means of livelihood; the preservation and acquisition of livestock are the only immediate alternatives that determine its survival. As documented in previous sections of this chapter, it is clear that, in spite of many disarmament initiatives being tried in Karamoja, the region remains vulnerable to its own existence.

The Karimojong probably need assurance that they will not lose the few animals they still have; if the disarmament applied to them was also be applied to all livestock owning communities around them, there would be no point in raiding cattle, because any attempt would be very costly and most likely unsuccessful.

The government of Uganda may not have the capacity to disarm warring groups simultaneously, and inconsistent disarmament appears to have done very little for the stability of the region. A balance of power upheld with small arms is often all that stands between a community's tenuous hold on subsistence and being raided to destitution by neighbouring groups. Given that the region is still awash with weapons, and that the supply of arms and ammunition is continually fed from both within and without the country, arms reduction strategies that do not address the fundamental precipitates of armed violence may be doomed to failure. Disarmament in this setting is an end, and not a means, to resolving the armed conflict of guns and cows in Karamoja.

However, security provision at the local level is a long-term process. Its roots lie in the reorganisation, remuneration and retraining of the security sector. Its success rests on sustained investment in regions that, for a long time, have been denied their fair share of government support – and this is true of Karamoja region, where roads, towns and people all exemplify neglect by the central authority.

Without a well-planned approach to increasing community security in Karamoja, there is very little prospect of effectively disarming these pastoral groups in the near future. The UPDF continues to be employed to disarm the Karimojong. Tension remains high between the army and civilians – who view the army's use of force as the only role that the government plays in their lives – and there is a real risk of larger-scale conflict breaking out in time. As a result, the Karimojong, by and large, believe that they have the moral right to keep guns for their own protection and for the defence of their only available means of survival (livestock) against their enemies.

Government needs to restore the confidence of the people if it is to begin addressing armed violence, insecurity, and the under-development of the region. As stated above, disarming the Karimojong in isolation has not brought tangible, lasting peace to the region. Instead, the forceful removal of guns from the Karimojong has created a vacuum, and thus a state of insecurity in Karamoja and its neighbouring communities. Government should have planned for a joint disarmament strategy encompassing Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia. Pure disarmament of the Karimojong should have come in only after the provision of adequate security by the state of Uganda. In the

short term, this would mean the protection of communities and cattle from raids by rival groups of warriors or from economically motivated crime.

However, the government's auxiliary security forces put in place after the disarmament – including local defence units and local administrative police – are largely confined to the towns and kraals where the animals are kept. Security forces, in general, cannot patrol and enforce the law, due to lack of mobility and the will to become embroiled in Karamoja's deadly inter-communal conflicts. The kraals and bush pastures have been the battleground for many decades, and remain effectively unpoliced. The piecemeal action to secure weapons and apprehend warriors have contributed negatively to insecurity in the region, including in its towns and villages.

The government of Uganda and international agencies alike tend to focus on pastoral systems as being fundamentally compatible with the structure of the modern state system. Yet attempts to fix the failings in the systems have not worked for the people of Karamoja.⁴⁶ Systems in the region may be malfunctioning gravely, but to attempt to replace them would be unwise on several counts. In other words, pastoralism is not the result of marginalisation, but rather of the optimisation of available resources. Most of Karamoja's rangeland is not suited to agriculture, due to persistent drought, and it is doubtful if the population of the region could subsist on the limited land that is suited to crop farming.

Pastoral groups interact with the market on many different levels. In Karamoja, the criminal linkages between pastoralism and the economy are clear evidence of this, and an indication that the state has a role to play in encouraging better integration of pastoral modes of production into the national economy. Most importantly, if the state views such drastic changes as necessary and attempts to have a well-developed, long-term plan for improving livelihoods in the area – a plan that reflects the needs of communities – then Karamoja will transform, like any other region in Uganda.

Nevertheless, after the forceful removal of illegal guns from the Kari-mojong, and toward their peaceful coexistence with people in neighbouring districts and countries, the GoU and CSOs have initiated some peacebuilding strategies that are designed to improve the pastoral nature of the Karimojong, diversify livelihoods and otherwise occupy young pastoralists who look at raiding cattle as a survival strategy. Although meaningful peacebuilding may take some time to be achieved in Karamoja, a lot is being done to improve the situation of the region.

MOVING BEYOND DISARMAMENT

The concept of human security received its first and most familiar definition in the 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report,⁴⁷ according to which:

In defining security, it is important that human security not be equated with human development. Human development is a broader concept – defined [...] as a process of widening the range of people's choices. Human security means that people can exercise these choices safely and freely – and that they can be relatively confident that the opportunities they have today are not totally lost tomorrow.⁴⁸

This means that, if given the opportunity to meet their most crucial needs and earn their own living, individuals will set themselves free and be better able to make a full contribution to 'their own development and that of their communities, their countries and the world'.⁴⁹

Contrary to traditional security, whose referent is the State, human security is people-centred: individuals should be at the centre of security, rather than the State, whose key role is protection against external aggression. The nuance behind the concept of human security puts the forgotten, but legitimate concerns, of ordinary people at the centre. For many of them, security symbolises protection from the threat of physical injury, disease, malnutrition, hunger, social conflict, environmental hazards and so on – that is, freedom from fear.

The UNDP report argues that human security requires the attenuation of a wide range of threats to people. The document groups these threats under several components, namely: *economic security*, which assures every individual a minimum of basic income; *food security*, which guarantees individuals physical and economic access to basic food; *health security*, which provides a minimum protection from disease and unhealthy lifestyle; *environmental security*, which protects people from the short or long natural calamities or man-made threats; *personal security*, which involves the protection of individuals from physical violence; *community security*, which refers to the protection of individuals from loss of traditional relationships and values, and from sectarian and ethnic violence; and *political security*, which assures individuals of respect for human rights.

Given the above definition of human security, this chapter has used human security principles, and conflict resolution and peacebuilding theory, to correlate the causes of and responses to conflict in the Karamoja area and

neighbouring regions. The theory emphasises that the solution to conflict must be the ability to create an environment in which human needs can be met by all segments of society. Conflict resolution theory also proposes that individuals, as members of their identity groups, will attempt to meet their needs within their environment. If individuals are obstructed in this pursuit by elites, other identity groups, institutions, or authorities, conflict is inevitable.⁵⁰

Conflict resolution theory supposes that the only solution is for groups to work through their problems in an analytical way, and supported by third parties who act as facilitators, not authorities. This is particularly relevant when the conflict is over needs, which cannot be negotiated, and not material interests, which can. The human needs theory and the conflict resolution theory intersect to help explain the fault lines of conflict within pastoralist communities like Karamoja, as well as finding suitable interventions for redress.

This chapter has also used *Human Security Now*, the 2003 report of the UN Commission on Human Security.⁵¹ Like the human needs and conflict resolution theories, the commission's interpretation of human security revolves around the protection of people, working with them to meet their non-negotiable needs, and their centrality as actors in finding durable solutions to conflict situations in which they are involved. The commission's report states that human security emphasises the protection of people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also asserts that human security means creating systems that provide people with the building blocks for survival, dignity and livelihood.

Human Security Now has shifted to addressing both conflict and development aspects of human security, including: the displacement, discrimination and persecution of vulnerable communities; as well as insecurities related to poverty, health, education, gender disparities and other types of inequality. In this regard, it represents the core principles of ensuring survival, meeting basic needs (protecting livelihoods) and safeguarding the human dignity of the most vulnerable groups in society. The report takes cognisance of the fact that threats vary from one country, community or person to another. For example, what constitutes a threat to people from South Sudan or Somalia might be different to a threat to people from DRC or Burundi. Today, terrorism is a major threat to the US, religion and clan to Somalia, and guns and cows conflict to Karamoja.

The final report of the Commission on Human Security attempts to respond to both old and new fears, addressing a broad range of interconnected

issues, such as: conflict and poverty; protecting people during violent conflict; defending people who are forced to leave their homes; building capacity in post-conflict situations; over-coming economic insecurity; guaranteeing the availability and affordability of essential health care; ensuring the elimination and educational deprivation of schools that promote intolerance; and putting forward ways to advance the security of people.⁵² The report also comes up with recommendations for policies aimed at both empowerment and protection, and focuses on what could be done, in either the short-term or the long-term, to enhance the opportunities for eliminating insecurities across the world.

The policies put forth in both of the aforementioned reports are very strong in terms of principles that should long have been applied or considered by the GoU for the complex situation of the Karimojong. The colonial and post-colonial regimes did not honour the Karimojong's concerns about protection and human security in respect of different types of freedoms – from want, from fear, and to act on their own behalf. As early as the late 1990s, government did attempt to respond to the need of the Karimojong for dams to provide adequate water for their livestock, but unfortunately these projects failed, with not a single dam being constructed. Thus, until recently, initiatives by the GoU for conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding, especially in response to the problem of the Karimojong, have been inappropriate.

Fundamentally, following the last disarmament exercise of 2004/2005, Karamoja is experiencing what Johan Galtung refers to as negative peace, or (in the case of Karamoja) the absence of conflict that conforms to traditional definitions of security, in general, and traditional protection from harm, in particular. According to Galtung, for security to be meaningful and sustainable, it would have to amount to a positive peace. This would imply considerably more than the absence of war, as merely one particular form of direct violence. Genuine peace and security would presuppose the elimination of, or at least a reduction in, what he called structural violence.⁵³

It would be safe to say that Karamoja now needs a preventive, recovery paradigm of peacebuilding activities that seek to put people at the centre of their focus. Through its activities, peacebuilding sets up sustainable mechanisms to prevent the reoccurrence of hostilities that could be caused by unsatisfied claims. Threats, as highlighted in the abovementioned human security reports and other works, are mostly related to dissatisfaction on the side of one party, resulting in human insecurity that is then translated into harmful action directed against people or property, with visible and immediate consequences.⁵⁴

Cock argues that the major goal of post-conflict peacebuilding is to call attention to oppression, marginalisation and threatened security of civilians, and to establish a peacebuilding agenda that involves civilians as key actors.⁵⁵ Peacebuilding is rooted in human security, because it seeks to put mechanisms in place to secure the welfare of individuals, by building livelihood blocks that will: enable them to expand their choices in terms of every-day experiences; protect them from hunger, poverty and chronic diseases such as TB and HIV/AIDS; and prevent sexual assault of women and children.

PEACE INITIATIVES IN KARAMOJA

Karamoja Integrated Development Programme (KIDP)

In 2007, the GoU, together with multiple development partners, including international and national NGOs and CBOs, established KIDP.⁵⁶ KIDP was formulated to address the unique context and development challenges of Karamoja. Its main objective is to develop and implement a comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development programme that enhances peacebuilding and development in the region.

In 2011, Janet Museveni, the First Lady and Minister for Karamoja Affairs, launched another initiative, called the Community Empowerment and Peacebuilding Programme, as a critical strategy for achieving the overall goal of KIDP.⁵⁷ KIDP works in collaboration with sectors such as Water, Agriculture, Education, Defence, Internal Affairs and others, to ensure harmony with sector standards and support for the cross-cutting activities of peacebuilding. The main activities being implemented include: responding to the effects of drought that affect food production; construction of parish valley dams for the animals and the people; construction of education infrastructure; electronic cattle branding; security; and income generating activities.

Mitigating the effects of drought

Karamoja experiences serious drought every year. Its effects on agriculture and livestock include poor fodder growth (pastures and shrubs), which reduces the availability of sufficient pastures for livestock. This normally results in poor body condition of animals, which translates into low milk and beef production, thus contributing to human malnutrition and reduced income from the sale of animals and animal products. Pastoralists are

therefore forced to move from their homesteads in search of pasture and water for their animals.

To help with this problem, government, NGOs and CSOs have come in to provide water harvesting facilities to store water from any precipitation received. Alternative livelihood options to keeping livestock have also been introduced, including include the resettlement of pastoralists who want to venture into crop production in green-belt areas, where rainfall is more reliable and agricultural activities can thrive. Improved animal nutrition is now being promoted through feed supplements from locally produced salt licks, fodder and hay.

Besides the above activities, the GoU has introduced the selection and training of Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs), who work as para-veterinarians providing electronic branding and the treatment and vaccination of animals in the communities. The para-veterinarians also help with disease surveillance, providing information necessary for early disease detection and thus the control of epidemics. CAHWs are facilitated to run animal drug shops, from which they generate income to replenish their stocks and meet other household needs.

CBOs like KOPEIN in Kotido and DADO in Kaabong districts have played important roles in: training CAHWs; facilitating peace meetings with elders; facilitating the recovery and return of stolen animals; and in cross-border peace programmes. They have also encouraged the formation of associations for the promotion of peace, such as the Pastoral Women Association in Kaabong district.

Crop production activities

In Karamoja, crops are affected by the prolonged drought that causes them to wither and dry. Development partners are helping communities harvest and store water to bridge the rainfall gaps. Water ponds, valley tanks and valley dams have been constructed, which retain water from the rainy months to be used for livestock and crop irrigation during the dry season. Some communities are provided with watering facilities for their vegetable gardens. Some have been assisted with micro irrigation kits, consisting of overhead water tanks, drip irrigation pipes and treadle pumps, which they use for pumping water from the water ponds and dams. Mercy Corps, through their Building Bridges to Peace programme, has run projects in Lobanya, Kacheri sub-county and Kotido district, to encourage the resettlement of warring communities in agriculturally productive areas and diversify livelihood opportunities.

Farmers are provided with meteorological data on rainfall, through an early warning system run by the Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET), which enables them to prepare for seasons, based on quarterly weather predictions. In this way, timely land preparation and planting are practised. Post-harvest handling and proper storage are promoted to avoid any wastage of the yields realised. Cereal banking is being encouraged, whereby farmers purchase locally available produce to sell during lean periods. This is also done by sourcing cereals from outside Karamoja region.

Labour-based works and savings mobilisation

Some organisations have designed projects that are aimed at injecting money into the community through cash for work. Community members are selected to provide labour for excavating ponds, dams and roads, and are, in turn, paid money that is saved in their Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLA), from which they can take loans and invest in small-scale businesses for profit.

Security

To help sustain the relative peace that came after the removal of the illegal guns, peace committees have been established at community level to help coordinate peace programmes in their communities. These committees are mobilised and facilitated to conduct exposure visits to learn from other peaceful communities.

Riamiriam, a Moroto-based local CSO working in Moroto and Napak districts, has played a significant role in peacebuilding. Its members include elders and local politicians, women and youth representatives. The organisation is active as a peacebuilding co-ordination nucleus in Karamoja and Turkana in Kenya. It connects directly with the communities by training peace teachers, who continue to sensitise the people on peace, and it identifies and works with clan elders in the promotion of peace. At the village level, Riamiriam is constituted as the Adakar Peace and Development Committee, with members drawn from the training classes. Organisations that have supported Riamiriam activities directly include: Oxfam GB; the European Union (EU), through the Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme (NUREP); Vétérinaires Sans Frontières (VSF); and recently the United States Agency for International Development Regional Economic Development Services Office for East and Southern Africa (USAID/REDSO/ESA), through Development Alternatives Incorporated (DAI).

Other international organisations that have played a fundamental role in peacebuilding in Karamoja include Oxfam, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and Mercy Corps. Their contributions are mostly in terms of facilitation and holding peace dialogue meetings between communities, as well as in advocacy pastoralist issues intended for national and regional platforms. Other interventions being undertaken by these organisations include conflict early warning and the recovery of the Karimojong from the effects of disarmament.

Disarmament was planned by the GoU to go along with a development component, since alternative means of livelihood would have to be created for communities previously engaged in armed cattle rustling. The government has continued to plan for compensation through the provision of iron sheets, ox-ploughs and seeds, among others, for households to use in production and income generation. Through its community empowerment programme, launched in 2011 by the First Lady, Janet Museveni, more households have been provided with heifers, goats, and land opening through a government tractorisation project to enable crop production on a larger scale. Other interventions have included the placement of disadvantaged Karimojong children on government education scholarships and building school infrastructure to keep students in boarding schools, so that they can concentrate on learning. A few NGOs are also encouraging girl child education, by paying school fees to help girls complete their studies.

Income generating activities

Both national and international NGOs have continued to provide support to establish income generating projects for reformed warrior groups. Activities include beekeeping projects, stabilised soil block making machines, vocational skills development in brick-laying and concrete practice, bicycle repair and bakeries.

In summary, it would be safe to say that the government of Uganda has invested substantial effort and resources in the development of Karamoja since the last disarmament programme of 2004/2005. The Ministry for Karamoja Affairs, through the Office of the Prime Minister, is committed to ensuring that all these resources bring meaning to the life of the Karimojong people.

In practice, however, there are some of the usual challenges that come with the implementation of development interventions. In Karamoja, the interventions are hampered by factors that include: over-rolling of projects within the communities; low capacity of some of the local contractors to

carry out work professionally, resulting in sub-standard work, especially with health centres and schools built for the communities; poor quality works, coupled with minimal supervision by district engineers; delayed procurement processes; and late submission of district quarterly progress reports to the Office of the Prime Minister and the Minister for Karamoja Affairs.

CONCLUSION

Karamoja is experiencing an ongoing shift in its economic, political and social order. This includes a shift away from pastoral livelihoods to subsistence or commercial agriculture. Some communities, especially the Pian and the Bokora, in Amudat and Napak districts, respectively, are engaging more heavily in agriculture, while still maintaining some herds of cattle. Other groups, such as the Nyangia in Kaabong and the population of the Ethur in Abim district, are now relying almost exclusively on crop production. Within these communities, which practice agriculture as their main source of livelihood, people are diversifying into trade, professional services and unskilled labour. These changes are necessary and should be encouraged and supported, in order to promote economic growth as an engine for broader development activities.

Animal-based livelihoods, whether pastoral or agro-pastoral in nature, will remain the backbone of Karamoja for the foreseeable future, due to the unique climatic and ecological conditions of the region. Such livelihoods, including tanneries, fodder production, veterinary services, animal trade, water resource management and natural resource management, should also be encouraged and supported.

Regardless of their exact shape and form, both animal-based and agricultural livelihoods – if effectively promoted, protected and supported – could become a central part of all national and international policies and programmes for Karamoja. In this way, it is hoped that these economic diversification initiatives will go a long way towards improving the general living conditions of the Karimojong.

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PART III

PICKING UP THE PIECES





Using Implementation Science to Bring Effective Social Emotional Learning to Scale in Fragile African Contexts

Beverly Kingston

INTRODUCTION

The emerging field of implementation science is helping us to understand what is needed to effectively implement and scale interventions. Positive outcomes for children and young people are most likely to be obtained when effective programmes are implemented using effective implementation strategies within an enabling context. Understanding and applying this knowledge base to peace education for violence prevention is crucial for achieving peace at a grand scale.

As an application of this methodology, we explore how social emotional learning (SEL) – which closely relates to *Ubuntu* – could serve as a foundational approach for peace education. SEL programmes, which teach children and young people the skills and behaviours that create peace, have the potential to be a cornerstone in Africa's efforts to prevent violence and promote peace. However, for achievement of these outcomes to occur at the population level, it is critical that SEL programmes that are selected are both proven to work (i.e. scientific research has demonstrated they accomplish the outcomes they claim to achieve) and are implemented effectively.¹ This chapter draws on lessons learned in the US and in international replications of evidence-based programmes to explore how evidence-based SEL programmes may be applied to promote peace in fragile African contexts.

IMPLEMENTATION SCIENCE: THE SCIENCE OF PUTTING WHAT WORKS INTO PRACTICE

When considering what's going to make a difference in peace education for violence prevention in fragile African societies, there is an incredible opportunity to draw upon the growing knowledge base being developed under the emerging field of implementation science. As stated above, implementation science is helping us to understand what is needed to effectively implement

and scale interventions. Effective implementation is now recognised as an active process that can be done intentionally, studied in practice, and supported by funders and governments.

A synthesis of the implementation literature shows that positive outcomes for children and young people are obtained when effective programmes are implemented using effective implementation strategies within an enabling context, as illustrated in the equation below.² This equation has been referred to as the 'Formula for Success'. It is important to note that it is a multiplication equation, and that if any part equals zero, positive outcomes are less likely to be achieved.

$$\text{Effective Programmes} \times \text{Effective Implementation} \times \text{Enabling Context} \\ = \text{Positive Outcomes}$$

All three components of the equation are necessary to achieve socially significant outcomes (e.g. reduced violence, social emotional learning, etc.). Next we provide an overview of the components of the Formula for Success.

Effective programmes

The first part of the equation focuses on effective programmes. Fortunately, we now have proven programmes to prevent youth violence and to promote positive youth development, which support both positive and negative peace. These programmes are often referred to as evidence-based programmes. The biggest advantage to using evidence-based programmes is the assurance that the programmes work if they are implemented effectively. Likewise, the higher the scientific standard of evidence demonstrating a programme's effectiveness, the greater the assurance that the programme will achieve its intended outcomes when it is replicated.

While the term 'evidence-based' is used widely in the US, the actual level of evidence required for evidence-based certification varies from informal satisfaction surveys, to single studies with non-experimental designs, and multiple randomised control design studies. There is currently little consensus within the research and practice communities about the scientific standard that should be used to certify an individual programme as effective or evidence-based. Depending on the source, the standard varies from any positive effect from any type of study, to consistent positive effects from multiple randomised control trials.³

Several registries have been created to help navigate through the findings and claims regarding evidence-based programmes. These registries are held by independent, not-for-profit organisations that review programmes, empowering policymakers, organisations and individuals to make informed decisions on where they put their resources. Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development (a registry maintained by the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado Boulder)⁴ identifies and disseminates evidence-based prevention and intervention programmes that reduce anti-social behaviour and promote a healthy course of youth development; it endorses only those programmes with strong scientific evidence of effectiveness. Blueprints focuses primarily on identifying effective prevention programmes for children and youth, since these are the development stages in which prevention and intervention programmes are likely to have the greatest impact. Childhood and adolescence are the developmental periods in which the onset of violence and other problem behaviour is most likely to occur and the prevention effect likely to be the greatest.⁵

Blueprints recommends that the scientific standard for certifying programmes as evidence-based and eligible for widespread dissemination must be high. Across the US, organisations have sponsored a number of well-intentioned programmes. Yet, very few of them have evidence demonstrating their effectiveness, and many are implemented with little consistency or quality control. Some of these programmes have been launched on a national scale in the US, only to prove ineffective and harmful (e.g. Scared Straight, gun buy-back programmes, DARE).⁶ When this occurs, it undermines public confidence in our claims to have effective programmes. We do not allow drugs to be prescribed or distributed by physicians unless they have been tested in rigorous randomised clinical trials. We suggest demanding no less for prevention programmes.

Blueprints' standards for certifying model and promising programmes are widely recognised as the most rigorous in use.⁷ The Blueprints Programmes were selected from a review of over 1 300 youth promotion programmes, with 12 programmes currently on the Model list and 42 on the Promising list. Each Blueprints programme has been reviewed by an independent panel of evaluation experts and determined to meet a clear set of scientific standards. The Blueprints standard requires evidence of: (1) a very good research design for the evaluation of impact – typically a randomised controlled trial or a high-quality, quasi-experimental design; (2) programme effects being sustained for at least one year after the programme ends; and (3) replications of the programme showing the same positive effects.

Despite their proven impact and demonstrated return on investment for improving child and youth outcomes, evidence-based programmes are not used as widely or effectively as they could be.⁸ In the US, the majority of prevention programme funding still goes to programmes that have not been evaluated, and some funds are still supporting programmes that have proven to be ineffective and even harmful (e.g., Scared Straight and Boot Camps).⁹ According to leaders in prevention science, the global need for translating evidence into effective action to prevent violence is great.¹⁰

Effective implementation

Prevention researchers, practitioners and policy makers are realising that developing evidence-based interventions is an essential, but insufficient, condition for success. Success also requires effective methods of implementation that support the selection, adoption, execution and sustainability of evidence-based programmes. According to Dean Fixsen, Founder of the National Implementation Research Network:

No matter how strong the science behind evidence-based interventions is, people and communities cannot benefit from interventions they don't receive or from those that are implemented haphazardly. In order to be effective, evidence-based interventions require sound implementation methods.¹¹

Clearly, putting effective programmes into real-world settings and maintaining them there is difficult and complicated.

If effective programmes are to be used more widely, it is critical to understand and apply methods of effective implementation. Effective implementation is a challenging process that occurs in discernible stages and requires significant upfront investment of resources.¹² Full implementation and sustainability of evidence-based programmes usually takes between two to four years to complete. Although effective implementation of evidence-based programmes is challenging, it is necessary to ensure that programmes produce demonstrated outcomes and that scarce resources are wisely spent.¹³

Extensive reviews of the implementation evaluation literature reveal the following five implementation stages: (1) exploration and adoption; (2) programme installation; (3) initial implementation; (4) full implementation; and (5) innovation and sustainability.¹⁴ Effective or quality implementation of an evidence-based programme is accomplished when the programme is put into practice in ways that deliver the same positive changes demonstrated

in the evaluation trial.¹⁵ This involves ensuring that the programme's core content is delivered with quality according to the specified number, length and frequency of sessions, and that participants are engaged and retaining the material.

Within each implementation stage, research has begun to identify key quality indicators that serve as a gauge for measuring success at that stage.¹⁶ For example, the exploration and adoption stage emphasises need and fit between the community and the evidence-based programme being considered for adoption. Exploration and adoption begins with identifying the most salient community needs and assessing how the evidence-based programmes being explored address those needs and fit within the local context. Tasks for this stage include: identifying the need and readiness for change; learning about possible evidence-based programmes that may provide a solution; learning about what it takes to implement the programme effectively; developing stakeholders and champions; and deciding to proceed. At the end of the exploration and adoption stage, a decision is made to proceed with implementation of an evidence-based programme in a given context, based on formal and informal criteria developed by the community and by the programme.

The installation stage is about making the structural and instrumental changes necessary to initiate the programme effectively. During this stage, an implementation team is identified and a concrete plan and timeline for implementing the programme developed.¹⁷ Initial implementation refers to the first use of the innovation by newly trained staff and it is sometimes referred to as the awkward stage. At this stage, the fear of change, inertia, and investment in the status quo combine with the difficult and complex work of implementing something new.¹⁸ It is important to learn from mistakes, continue buy-in efforts, and realistically manage expectations. To successfully move towards full implementation, an ongoing structure should be established that includes technical assistance, coaching, process evaluation and a supportive mechanism for feedback.¹⁹

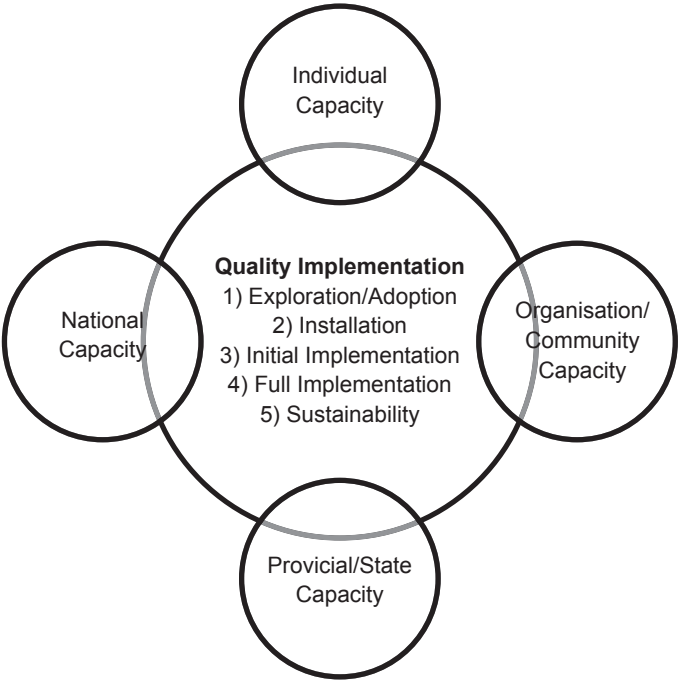
Full implementation is defined as 'the skilful use of an evidence-based programme well integrated into the organisation and routinely supported by leadership'.²⁰ At this point the implemented programme is fully operational, with full staffing and a full client load. Practitioners carry out the programme with proficiency and skill, managers and administrators support and facilitate the new practices, and the community has adapted to the presence of the new programme. Over time, the programme becomes accepted practice and is regarded as 'business as usual'.²¹

Although we only provide introductory information about implementation science in this chapter, ensuring success at each implementation stage is key for realising effective or quality implementation overall. Practical tools, such as the Quality Implementation Tool, can be utilised to help guide stakeholders in communities and organisations in their efforts to implement with quality.²² Excellent resources are also available through the National Implementation Research Network.²³

Enabling context

The third component of the Formula for Success equation – an enabling context – supports implementation success by increasing capacity to support high-quality implementation across multiple levels (individual, organisational, community, provincial/state and national, at each implementation phase (exploration and adoption, installation, initial implementation, full implementation and sustainability) (see Figure 9.1). For example, at the individual level, capacity is increased through a person's attitude and skills.²⁴ Buy-in, or a positive attitude toward the programme being implemented, and an individual's ability to develop the skills to effectively implement the programme through training and coaching, increases capacity and creates an enabling context at the individual level.²⁵

Figure 9.1: Enabling context



At the organisational level, an enabling context for implementation is created when organisations provide strong leadership and administrative support for the implementation of evidence-based programmes. This encompasses sufficient technical and fiscal resources for staff to deliver a programme effectively. Some examples of an enabling organisational context include: ensuring that enough qualified staff are appointed and trained; providing ongoing coaching and training to ensure that staff are competent in delivering the programme with quality; and supporting the development of monitoring systems to ensure that the programme is delivered with fidelity and to evaluate the effect and relative advantage of the programme.²⁶ Supportive organisations also address barriers to adoption, implementation and sustainability, and effectively troubleshoot solutions.²⁷

All organisations exist within a shifting ecology of social, economic, cultural, political, and policy environments that simultaneously enable and impede implementation and programme operation efforts at the individual, community, provincial/state, and national levels. An ideal enabling context includes active alignment of policies and coordination of efforts in support of the use of effective programmes and implementation strategies across all these environments. Some US states (Pennsylvania and Washington) have built innovative state-level prevention support systems to support the adoption, implementation and sustainability of evidence-based programmes, by providing: funding, technical assistance to build local capacity, and research that demonstrates outcomes and cost-savings.²⁸ These examples suggest that careful attention needs to be paid to creating readiness in attitudes, skills and infrastructure at all levels, before attempting to put an evidence-based programme in place.

Peace expert Tony Karbo identifies key approaches to capacity building across these multiple societal levels.²⁹ He states, 'All capacity-building activities must be anchored on a set of principles that will ensure and sustain trust and cooperation between those bringing in capacity programmes and the intended beneficiaries'.³⁰ Additionally, he explains that local communities are significant actors in building sustainable peace, but that creating an enabling context for peace education to thrive involves coordination and alignment of capacity building interventions across individual, organisational, community, state and national levels. Achieving this alignment is a continuous long-term process and requires commitment from outside partners to focus on what communities truly need, and to ensure participation, inclusivity and transparency in the process.³¹

Global considerations for implementation science

In 2008, two special issues of *Evaluation & Health Professions Journal* were dedicated to the international translation of evidence-based health behaviour programmes.³² Many evidence-based programmes that were developed in the US have been successfully implemented in international contexts. However, as the journals highlight, there are additional factors to consider when translating an evidence-based programme to an international context. The successful translation of programmes from one country to another requires careful assessment of the political, religious and economic contexts, as well as the language, legal standards, ethical and social norms, and family practices of each country and internal ethnic group.³³ It is also important to evaluate: the relevance of the programme to the people of the host country; the willingness of local organisations and implementers to deliver the programme; local implementers' tendency to reinvent programming; the meanings of programme concepts, as perceived by participants; and the value of different outcomes to implementers and participants.³⁴

International translation of evidence-based programmes seems to be most successful when collaborators who represent the host country play a major role in the translation process.³⁵ It is ideal to involve local collaborators – including respected cultural elders and other revered community stakeholders – in a mutual assessment process, in which local stakeholders and programme developers together consider the compatibility of the programme with the goals and needs of the host community, in the process of adapting the programme to fit the new cultural context.³⁶ Once the decision is made to implement the programme, cultural adaptations may involve altering some of the intervention strategies or illustrations of programme components to conform to the cultural norms and context of different countries such as the nature of praise and award. Local training sessions can also be adapted to include cultural customs and social norms in the training sessions.³⁷ Programme delivery may also be enhanced when individuals residing in the community deliver the programme. For example, a health programme delivered in rural Tanzania worked with traditional healers to bring effective programming to the country, and the programme was implemented by local community members.³⁸

Recognising that successful translation of research into practice is a global endeavour, a global initiative to promote the rapid development of implementation science, practice, and policy was introduced in 2011.³⁹ The Global Implementation Initiative (GII) aims to advance implementation science, practice, and policy, and promote their active application within human services in order to produce demonstrable and socially significant

benefits to individuals and society. The GII is designed to support and accelerate development of the field of implementation through three main efforts: (1) a biennial Global Implementation Conference to share advances in knowledge, develop professional connections, and work intensively on common agendas; (2) the formation of regional collaborative implementation structures to serve as geographically accessible forums for advancing the science, practice and policy of implementation; and (3) the development of a Global Implementation Society, with a focus on building a shared global network and resource hub.

The purpose of these efforts is to encourage international collaboration and to address the global need for translating evidence into effective action to impact socially significant outcomes like reduced violence and increased peace. Tony Karbo writes:⁴⁰

Capacity building for sustainable peacebuilding has undergone different transformations and has generated a body of knowledge that is useful when used appropriately. However, this knowledge is still scattered and targeted at individuals and not institutions ... What is missing perhaps in the broadest sense is the coordination of capacity building interventions at the individual, institutional and societal level. Interventions at these levels are not sufficiently coordinated to have a sustainable impact on communities that have experienced violence and protracted conflicts.

The GII aims to synthesise and integrate the implementation and capacity building knowledge base in ways that lead to sustained impact. By connecting African policymakers, practitioners and researchers to the GII, and other resources related to evidence-based programmes and implementation science, we hope to identify and create linkages for ongoing partnerships that increase our knowledge base for innovative knowledge translation approaches – thus, ideally, strengthening our collective ability to build capacity, share knowledge and increase the uptake of effective programmes that promote peace.

SOCIAL EMOTIONAL LEARNING AS A FOUNDATION FOR PEACE EDUCATION

The overview of implementation science described above provides a generic methodology for effectively implementing evidence-based programmes. Here we shift gears to discuss SEL as an approach to consider as a focus for the

programmatic content of peace education programmes. This approach links peace education to prevention science and emphasises SEL as a foundation for achieving peace within individuals, relationships and communities.

Two core peace education concepts align well with prevention science's risk, protection, and preventive factor approach, which is applied globally to address youth violence.⁴¹ The first core concept, 'negative peace', focuses on: the absence of overt violence; the prevention of hostile conflict and violence; and the ability to resolve conflict peacefully. The second concept, 'positive peace', emphasises: building peaceful cultures that encourage social, economic and political justice; and exploring ways to create more just and sustainable futures.⁴²

Prevention science focuses on: identifying and reducing the factors that put children and young people at risk of engaging in violence and other problem behaviours; increasing the factors that protect or buffer them from the effects of risk; and promoting factors that result in positive behaviour.⁴³ Research shows that many of the same risk factors predict a wide range of adolescent problem behaviours (e.g. substance abuse, delinquency, teen pregnancy, school dropout, violence, and depression and anxiety), suggesting that improvements can affect a broad set of outcomes simultaneously.⁴⁴ Many of these risk factors begin in early childhood and continue through adolescence. Additionally, they may be found at the individual, family, peer, school and community levels, and they vary by strength and by age.⁴⁵ Some of the strongest risk factors predicting violence and other problem behaviours include early and persistent problem behaviour, deviant peer relationships, and parental influences, such as parental warmth and parental monitoring. Research supports the cross-national applicability of the risk and protection framework that is at the foundation of prevention science.⁴⁶

By ensuring that peace education programmes and practices address the risk and protective factors that impact violence, violence can be reduced and prevented – resulting in negative peace. In addition, recent research on positive youth development has begun to identify preventive factors that contribute to overall healthy youth development and positive outcomes.⁴⁷ By also making sure that peace education programmes emphasise these health-promoting processes, it may be possible to develop populations that have the capacity to achieve positive peace.

Social emotional learning fosters conditions that promote negative and positive peace by reducing the risk factors that are associated with violence and by promoting protective factors and processes that empower young people to adopt non-destructive ways to settle conflict and live in harmony with themselves, others and their world. Research shows that effective SEL

programmes impact many factors that relate to promoting and achieving both negative and positive peace.⁴⁸ For example, SEL has positive effects on academic achievement and citizenship, and reduces the risk of maladjustment, failed relationships, interpersonal violence, and substance abuse.⁴⁹

The Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL)⁵⁰ has identified five interrelated sets of key competencies that are taught, practiced and reinforced through effective SEL programming:

- *Self-awareness* – Identification and recognition of one's own emotions, recognition of strengths in self and others, sense of self-efficacy, and self-confidence.
- *Social awareness* – Empathy, respect for others, and perspective taking.
- *Responsible decision making* – Evaluation and reflection, and personal and ethical responsibility.
- *Self-management* – Impulse control, stress management, persistence, goal setting and motivation.
- *Relationship skills* – Cooperation, help-seeking and providing, and communication.

These interrelated SEL competencies are foundational cognitive, emotional and behavioural skills that teach us how to manage our thoughts, our emotions and our relationships with others in ways that support peace in ourselves and in our communities. For example, SEL emphasises recognition and management of one's emotions and thoughts, and their influence on behaviour. When an individual is caught up in a distressing emotion, the brain's centres for learning, higher-level thinking and problem solving are temporarily hampered. If the distress is persistent, it is likely to hamper one's ability to learn and to make constructive and respectful choices about personal behaviour and social interactions. In other words, children who are hurting are less likely to learn effectively.⁵¹

While recognising and managing our own emotions is a core component of SEL, it is also critical to address the broader social factors that can lead to persistent emotional distress by working to build family, school and community environments that are physically and emotionally safe. SEL has the potential to address these broader social factors by setting in motion virtuous social processes that support the presence of physically and emotionally safe environments that are nurturing to all. For example, in schools where educators foster a caring school environment and teach core social skills, a virtuous cycle may develop in which positive interactions lead to more positive interactions. This, in turn, creates a school culture and

climate in which students and teachers respect one another and enjoy being together, further strengthening relationships and motivating both students and teachers to do their best. Similar processes can be set in motion within families and in the community.

At the heart of developing positive relationship skills, which support physically and emotionally safe environments, is the ability to take the perspective of and empathise with others from diverse backgrounds and cultures. Psychologist Fred Hannah calls empathy the universal solvent that can be taught and practiced.⁵² He describes empathy as seeing with the eyes of another, hearing with the ears of another, and feeling with the heart of another. As Daniel Goleman describes in his book, *Emotional Intelligence*, there is a link between empathy and caring. He states, 'To feel with another is to care'.⁵³ Empathy, and the compassion it generates, provides individuals with the willingness and motivation to make ethical, constructive and responsible choices. In addition to teaching empathy, other relationship skills – including how to communicate clearly, listen actively, cooperate, resist inappropriate social pressure, and negotiate conflict constructively – need to be taught and reinforced as part of an effective SEL programme.

At a collective level, our ability to master these SEL core competencies has the potential to increase our human capacity to proactively address social injustice. This supports the vision for peace education, described in this book's introduction, that aims to build skills to empower children and adults to be creative and adopt non-destructive ways to settle conflicts and live in harmony with themselves, others and their world – thus promoting what peace education founder Betty Reardon describes as a culture of peace, through the development of peace-making capacities.⁵⁴

Although emerging from different cultures and traditions, the SEL core competencies described above align with the peacebuilding goal of rebuilding and strengthening the *Ubuntu* value. Attributes of *Ubuntu* include 'love, respect, trust, reciprocity, peacefulness, justice, reconciliation, forgiveness, neighbourliness, humility, truth, caring and God's vision of a shared purpose for mankind'.⁵⁵ *Ubuntu* has also been defined as the notion that, 'A person is a person because of other people'.⁵⁶ Like SEL, *Ubuntu* operates at the individual and community levels. Both emphasise that 'seeking those elements that bring peace to our very being'⁵⁷ is foundational for building peace in our interpersonal relationships, communities, states and nations.

As we learn to manage our emotions and behaviour and to practice the interpersonal skills that enable us to build positive relationships with others, we develop the reflective and participatory capacity necessary to even consider how to create a world that works for everyone. This capacity

includes the systems thinking ability to see and understand that the connection between how we think and interact shapes our policies and practices. Since we all have a role in shaping expectations, norms and daily ways of living, this capacity needs to be possessed by all of us. Systems thinking expert Peter Senge explains this as the need for society to develop global systems citizens, who understand and help to create a workable, sustainable and prosperous global civilization.⁵⁸ Martin Luther King describes this vision as the creation of the beloved community.⁵⁹ SEL competencies, which promote and strengthen *Ubuntu* values, could help to lay the groundwork for this ambitious vision to become a possibility.

SEL evidence-based programme examples

According to CASEL researchers, the most effective, sustained SEL programmes begin at pre-school, continue through high school, are intentionally linked to academics, and are an integral component of the school and community.⁶⁰ These multi-component programmes affect the entire school climate, use developmentally appropriate lessons and teach children specific social emotional skills. They also involve students, parents, educators and community members in planning, implementing and evaluating the SEL effort. However, CASEL has also found that many of the SEL programmes are not evaluated, or that the evaluations are flawed.⁶¹

Here we highlight three SEL Blueprints programmes that align well with the CASEL recommendations, spanning the developmental continuum from early childhood through middle school, and which have had international applications. See www.blueprintsprograms.com for a complete list of Blueprints programmes.

The Incredible Years (early childhood)

The Incredible Years is an early childhood (age 2–8) comprehensive social emotional learning programme that involves parents, teachers and children; the goal is preventing, reducing and treating behavioural and emotional problems in children.⁶² The programme is designed to increase a child's success at school and at home by promoting positive parent, teacher and child relationships. The programme has been implemented in over 20 countries across three continents, and has proven effective in reducing children's aggression and behaviour problems, and increasing social competence in home and school settings.

The Incredible Years is delivered through a set of interlocking programmes that are designed to work jointly to promote emotional, social and academic competence and to prevent, reduce and treat behavioural and emotional problems in young children. The programme addresses the unique needs of parents, teachers and children, through distinct, yet integrated, strategies and skill-building programmes, each created to be culturally sensitive and developmentally age-appropriate.

The programme for parents includes facilitated, weekly group discussions (approximately 18 sessions) that offer parents support and activities to strengthen developmentally appropriate parenting skills that are known to promote children's social competence, emotional regulation and academic skills, and to reduce behaviour problems. Additional parent training components include: an advanced parent programme that emphasises parent interpersonal skills, such as effective communication skills; anger and depression management; ways to give and get support; problem-solving between adults; and ways to teach children problem solving skills and have family meetings.

The Incredible Years teacher programme includes video-based training, modelling and guided practice that provides teachers with proven classroom management strategies, including effective use of teacher attention, and praise and encouragement, which promote classroom success. Teachers learn how to teach children empathy, social skills, emotional self-regulation and problem solving in the classroom. The programme includes: strategies for helping teachers to stay calm when dealing with difficult students; ways to build a support network with other teachers; and approaches to strengthening the teacher's collaborative process and positive communication with parents (e.g. the importance of positive home phone calls, regular meetings with parents, home visits and successful parent conferences). Teachers also learn how to prevent peer rejection and bullying by helping aggressive children learn appropriate problem-solving strategies and helping their peers to respond appropriately to aggression. Physical aggression in unstructured settings (e.g. the playground) is targeted for close monitoring, teaching and incentive programmes.

For children with conduct disorders, teachers, parents and group facilitators jointly develop 'transition plans' that detail classroom strategies that are successful with each individual child; and ways in which parents would like to be contacted by teachers. This information is passed on to the following year's teachers.

Significant research shows comparable results and positive outcomes across many different racial and ethnic groups, including Asians, Hispanics,

African-Americans and Caucasians. The programmes have also been evaluated by researchers working with Maori tribes in New Zealand, and Korean and Native Americans in the US. Programmes have been delivered in many countries, including Russia, Turkey, Portugal, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Holland and Jamaica.

The Incredible Years programme is designed to promote cultural diversity and to be delivered in a collaborative way with parents and teachers, with a focus on ensuring that participants achieve their own goals within their own culture. Its effectiveness worldwide may be due to the fact that the programme does not use a one-size-fits-all approach. Rather, it is based on a collaborative model that emphasises a reciprocal relationship, utilising the group leader's knowledge and the parents' unique strengths and cultural perspectives equally.

Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) (childhood)

PATHS is a comprehensive programme for promoting emotional and social competencies and reducing aggression and behaviour problems in elementary school-aged children (age 6–11), while simultaneously enhancing the educational process in the classroom and the school.⁶⁵ PATHS targets five major conceptual domains that align directly with CASEL's core SEL competencies: (1) self-control; (2) emotional understanding; (3) positive self-esteem; (4) relationships; and (5) interpersonal problem-solving skills.

PATHS is designed to be taught by classroom teachers at least two to three times per week, with daily activities to promote generalisation and support ongoing behaviour. The curriculum provides detailed lesson plans, exact scripts, suggested guidelines, and general and specific objectives for each lesson. However, the curriculum has considerable flexibility, so that it can also be integrated with an individual teacher's style. Lessons include activities such as dialoguing, role-playing, storytelling by teachers and peers, social and self-reinforcement, attribution training, and verbal mediation. Throughout the lessons, a critical focus of PATHS involves facilitating the dynamic relationship between cognitive-affective understanding and real-life situations.

In addition to ensuring high-quality classroom implementation of PATHS, model implementation of PATHS involves a school-wide approach that sets in motion virtuous social processes that support a positive and peaceful school culture and climate. To create this deeper transformation, PATHS nurtures whole-school systems change by: (1) embodying PATHS skills in the school's leadership; (2) using PATHS practices and values

throughout the school, so that they are integrated into everyday action that nurtures reflection, awareness and caring; (3) creating a school culture in which teachers and staff feel valued and nurtured; (4) creating positive expectations that students and staff will utilise PATHS skills throughout the school, with peers and adults; and (5) communicating with parents and supporting the ability to use PATHS SEL skills at home.

Research across many settings has shown that the programme is effective across a variety of demographic conditions. PATHS evaluations have included the entire range of socio-economic strata, as well as children from a wide diversity of ethnic, cultural and family-structure backgrounds. In an analysis that considered differences in programme effects by race, similar programme effects were found among African Americans and European Americans.⁶⁴

PATHS has been successfully implemented in many countries around the world, including in Western Europe (the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Poland), the Balkans (Croatia, Slovenia), the Middle East (one implementation in Pakistan, a few in Turkey) and the Far East (Singapore, Hong Kong, and now beginning in China). Cultural adaptations have been made to the programme for Aboriginal peoples in Canada, and programme developers are currently involved in a project of adaptation in Sweden. In each of these locations, the programme's cultural adaptations are done by working closely with local groups (practitioners and researchers). The programmatic changes are usually only made to the surface structure (stories, pictures, drawings, names of children, etc.). However, there has sometimes been a need for changes at a deeper level – for example, due to an emotion or problem that would be local to the context.

Positive Action (childhood and adolescence)

Positive Action is a school-based programme that provides a comprehensive, integrated approach for preventing problem behaviour, promoting character development, and improving academic achievement among elementary and middle school youth.⁶⁵ The programme has been implemented in all 50 US states for over 20 years. It is in Guam, Puerto Rico, Canada and other international areas, reaching over 15 500 schools, community-based organisations and other institutions.

The programme's impact ranges from increased academic achievement to a dramatic reduction in problem behaviour. For students, it includes improved character, reduced negative behaviour (e.g. substance use, bullying and violence), improved emotional/mental health and better achievement.

At the school level, it includes improved school climate/culture, reduced absenteeism and disciplinary referrals/suspensions, and improved standardised test scores. These results have been replicated in diverse settings and feature the most rigorous efficacy study designs available.

The Positive Action programme is based on the intuitive philosophy that we feel good about ourselves when we perform a positive action. The Thoughts-Actions-Feelings Circle (TAF) illustrates how this works in life: our thoughts lead to actions and those actions lead to feelings about ourselves, which lead to more thoughts. When this cycle is positive, students want to learn. Conversely, when the cycle is negative, students do not want to learn. At its essence, the Positive Action program aims to set virtuous social processes in motion, by systematically supporting those actions that promote a healthy and positive cycle.

The school-based programme includes a detailed elementary and middle school classroom curriculum and strategies for school-wide climate change. The classroom curriculum features age-appropriate scripted lessons that are easy to teach and require little advance preparation. Lessons are taught two to four times per week and last about 15 minutes. The student materials come prepared for a classroom of 30 students and include activity booklets, journals and other lesson aids. There are two school-wide climate development kits (elementary and secondary) that reinforce the classroom curriculum, by coordinating the efforts of the entire school in the practice and reinforcement of positive action. Positive Action has also developed counsellor, family and community kits.

Positive Action has been effectively implemented in the US and other international settings, including Russia, Belize, Guam, The Netherlands and Belgium. It has been delivered to individuals of various ages, genders, ethnicities and races, cultures, and socio-economic levels in rural, suburban and urban areas.

APPROACHES FOR DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE SEL PROGRAMS IN AFRICA

Two complementary approaches are recommended for developing a menu of effective SEL programmes for Africa. The first involves identifying and replicating programmes with high standards of evidence that demonstrate their effectiveness, such as the three programs listed above. This approach also includes determining whether or not SEL peace education programmes, with strong scientific evidence of impact, already exist in Africa and could be scaled.

The research on the three programmes highlighted above suggests their generalisability to diverse populations. Additionally, a growing body of literature shows evidence-based interventions created in high-income countries can be transferred to and be effective in low-income and middle-income countries.⁶⁶ Doing this successfully requires that the programme developers work closely with local community partners to make the necessary adaptations to ensure the content, language, examples and methods of programme delivery are culturally appropriate and relevant in local African contexts, while ensuring that the integrity of the programme's core components is not compromised. The adapted programmes should be piloted, and high-quality evaluation of the programmes operating in the new context should be conducted prior to taking the programmes to scale.

The second approach focuses on developing and evaluating new peace education programmes that hold promise, through randomised controlled trials and quasi-experimental designs. Although we do have lists of proven SEL programmes, the lists are small and there are gaps in certain areas, such as SEL programmes for high school youth. Identifying new effective programmes must continue to be a priority.

Since programme evaluation is a developmental process, with each prior stage contributing to the overall evidence for a programme's effectiveness, utility and acceptance, supporting quality evaluation at each developmental stage in the process is critical. All programmes could start the evaluation process by following the guidelines below:

- Develop a clear and logical model that guides the programme's design/development.
- Put an effective data collection, storage and retrieval system in place.
- Ensure all programme staff are adequately trained to deliver the intervention.
- Monitor that the programme is being delivered to the intended population, with the intended dosage, for the intended duration, and with high quality.
- Use reliable and valid pre-programme and post-programme assessments to collect and analyse data on programme outcomes.

Programmes that demonstrate positive results, based on the initial evaluation stages, could then move on to more rigorous methods, such as a randomised controlled trial or quasi-experimental design. Again, it is important that programmes that are taken to scale have strong scientific evidence of their effectiveness.

Although we have not yet realised the full potential of implementing evidence-based peace education programmes at the population level, the emerging field of implementation science helps us to realise what it will take to accomplish this grand vision. The Formula for Success described earlier suggests that effective programmes, effective implementation and an enabling context are essential components for achieving and sustaining positive and negative peace. By understanding these factors, we then have the opportunity to make conscious choices that will move us toward the accomplishment of this vision. We turn next to an illustrative example that systematically puts the Formula for Success in place at the community level.

A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO REDUCING YOUTH VIOLENCE AND ITS APPLICATION IN A DENVER NEIGHBOURHOOD

With funding by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention, researchers from the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence are working in close partnership with the Montbello neighbourhood in Denver, Colorado, to promote positive youth development and reduce youth violence, through a coordinated community-wide effort called Steps to Success. This initiative uses the evidence-based Communities That Care (CTC) model as a guiding framework to engage and organise the community to build an infrastructure of effective SEL and violence prevention programmes at the local level.⁶⁷ The model integrates all three critical components of the Formula for Success (effective programmes, effective implementation and enabling context) into a community-based strategic approach that has been evaluated through a randomised control trial and been shown to reduce delinquency and other problem behaviour.⁶⁸ CTC has been implemented in over 500 communities across the US and other countries, including Australia, Canada, Croatia, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Montbello covers an area of 4.5 square miles and has a population of approximately 30 000. According to the 2010 census, 37 per cent of the population is under the age of 18. Approximately 59 per cent of the population is Hispanic, 28 per cent African American, and eight per cent white. There are more vulnerable children in Montbello than in any other neighbourhood in Denver, and the number continues to grow at a faster rate than in other neighbourhoods.⁶⁹ Schools report an average of 90 per cent participation in the free and reduced lunch program.⁷⁰ Montbello is in the top 1/3 of the distribution of violent crime and other crime among 11–24-year-olds in Denver.

Although the Montbello community faces challenges, including crime, poverty and changing racial demographics, it is also steeped in a rich cultural identity and a willingness to mobilise to address those challenges. Steps to Success blends prevention science and community organising to address the risk factors that impact youth violence and other problem behaviour, and aims to increase the protective and promotive factors that contribute to healthy youth development and positive outcomes. By addressing the root causes of violence and problem behaviour, and by promoting healthy youth development, we believe this approach holds promise for impacting negative and positive peace at the community level.

CTC provides a flexible framework for mobilising and engaging a coalition of diverse community partners (e.g. parents, schools, law enforcement, public health, faith community, non-profit organisations, social services, elected officials, business community, young people, and other key players) to use a data-driven process to identify and address local needs within their local context. For the Steps to Success project, we have formed a community board that meets monthly and is the decision making body for the project. We have also formed a key leader advisory board to ensure that high-level leaders in the city, county and state understand and support the community board's priorities. Support at these different levels ranges from planning the monthly meetings and strategically addressing challenges, to being a spokesperson or ambassador for the project and bringing new partners to the meetings, alerting the community board to possible funding opportunities, and 'building bridges' to elected officials. Additionally, many community partners have been instrumental in helping to make connections with institutions in Montbello that are interested in hosting programmes.

As part of CTC, the community coalition received structured training workshops and proactive technical assistance for assessing their needs, targeting these needs with tested and effective programmes and strategies, and ensuring that these new strategies are well implemented and integrated with existing violence prevention efforts. This includes: a process for establishing a shared community vision; tools for assessing levels of risk and protection experienced by community youth and their families; and a framework for: (1) prioritising risk and protective factors; (2) selecting and implementing evidence-based programmes to address the prioritised risk factors; and (3) monitoring and assessing the attainment of specific measurable community goals. Community members and partners are significantly engaged in decision making at each stage in the process, and final approval of all decisions comes from the members of the community

board, who are the individuals with the most to gain or lose from potential interventions.

One of the first tasks of the community board in Montbello was to define their shared vision for the community, which they voiced as ‘a self-empowered community that we are proud of’. Our research team then assisted with collecting scientifically sound data on risk and protective factors and problem behaviour in the community and in the schools. We surveyed nearly 3 000 young people and over 400 parents in schools and the community and had a very high response rate, ensuring that the data truly represents the community’s demographics.

The community board used this data to prioritise the top risk and protective factors that they wanted to address. The top risk factors selected by the Montbello community were: (1) early and persistent problem behaviour; (2) family conflict/family management problems; and (3) friends engaging in problem behaviour/weak social ties. The community also aims to increase two protective factors: religiosity and the positive recognition of young people at home, in school and in the community.

CTC developers have found that their approach works best when there is a menu of tested effective programmes for communities to choose from. For the Steps to Success project, the Montbello community board used the Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development programme list to match the prioritised risk factors to evidence-based programmes.⁷¹ The community board developed the following criteria, which were used in their programme selection decisions:

- Addresses the top risk factors selected by the community.
- Is one of the model or promising programmes on the Blueprints list.
- Covers universal level programming from age 3 to 18 years and aims to include a continuum of social emotional programming through the life course.
- Covers selective and indicated programmes for ages 0–18.
- Includes programmes in both school-based and community-based settings.
- Includes both youth and families.
- Meets criteria for cultural competency. The programmes have been applied with a wide range of population demographics.
- Offers opportunities for local ownership and capacity building.

Using these criteria, the community board created a written community action plan to guide the project. The plan includes two of the social emotional

learning programmes highlighted in this chapter: Incredible Years and Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies. They also selected two programmes that work with families: Strengthening Families 10–14 and the Positive Family Support programme. These programmes increase SEL competencies in youth and in families, and have been proven to reduce violence and other problem behaviour. For young people who are already exhibiting problem behaviour, the community is partnering with mental health service providers that are utilising a variety of evidence-based intervention programmes, including Multi-Systemic Therapy and Functional Family Therapy. The goal is to ensure that there are effective programmes in place to prevent problem behaviour among young people, beginning in early childhood, and to intervene as early as possible with those at risk and those already exhibiting problem behaviour (e.g. delinquency, violence and drug use).

Our Center staff work closely with schools, community partners and the programme developers to identify enabling and supportive locations for programme implementation and to ensure that the programmes are being implemented as designed. For example, one of our family-based programmes takes place on Friday nights at a local church that has been highly successful in recruiting families for this programme. The programme includes a family dinner and it is both a social event and an opportunity to learn and grow as a family. Our staff monitors the programme sessions and provides support and training to project staff, as needed, to ensure the programmes are delivered with quality and as designed by the developer. Through this process, we are able to work with community partners to troubleshoot problems when implementation barriers arise. Ongoing evaluation is planned to assess the community-level impact of the project on youth problem behaviour and youth success.

Steps to Success has encountered several challenges to capacity building that are similar to those highlighted by Tony Karbo's work on capacity building in Africa.⁷² When the project began, Montbello community members expressed great concern that outsiders were coming into their community to study them and to make decisions about what was best for residents. A community resident coined the phrase 'hit and run research', based on past experiences with well-intentioned researchers coming into the Montbello community, collecting what they needed for their study, leaving when the study was over, and then publishing on what furthers the career of the researcher with no long-term impact on improving the community's concerns. The project-based grant structure that supports community-based research contributes to this issue, but it is critical that community researchers and programme developers do whatever it takes to overcome this barrier.

There is no quick fix to building trust and healing past community hurts. In every interaction we have with the community, we aim to build trust, by working authentically side-by-side with community partners. The CTC framework supports this process by systematically applying the core principles of capacity building: needs-based, participation, inclusivity and transparency.⁷³

We consider our research role in this project as being to serve and support the community in the short and long term. For example, we make sure the community has accurate data and resources to understand and address their strengths and problems, and it is the community stakeholders who decide their priorities and action steps, based on this data. Whenever possible, we hire people from the community to support the project. Our first hire was a Community Site Manager who lives nearby, attends church in the community and – although she works for the University – is housed at a local non-profit organisation within the community. We also hired community members to collect data and to implement the programmes (e.g. we are working to train a local teacher to become a trainer for the PATHS program, and have trained other community stakeholders to be programme facilitators). We work with local non-profit organisations to help them build their evaluation capacity, and we give community partners data and support to help them apply for additional funding to sustain the project.

The project's name, 'Steps to Success' aptly describes the purposeful incremental nature of this work. Trust and capacity are being built simultaneously through short-term and long-term strategies. Steps to Success uses evidence-based programmes and effective implementation, and seeks to build and support an enabling context at the individual, institutional and societal levels. The project aims to set in motion virtuous processes that lead to long-term sustained improvement in youth and community outcomes, and it provides a model that can be a guiding resource to other locations.

CONCLUSION

The over-arching purpose of peace education is to prevent violence (negative peace) and to develop and sustain a culture of learning and innovation that builds our capacity to shape a just and sustainable society (positive peace). SEL programmes reduce the risk factors that are associated with violence and promote protective factors, resilience and processes that empower young people to be creative and to practice healthy ways to deal with conflict.

Although emerging from a different tradition than *Ubuntu*, peace education programmes that promote SEL core competencies may serve as a promising vehicle for strengthening *Ubuntu* value systems, by teaching children, young people and adults the skills and behaviours that create peace, including the ability to recognise and manage emotions, develop positive relationships and solve problems effectively. By impacting the individual, the community and the broader systems in which individuals are nested, SEL has the potential to generate virtuous social processes, which create environments that are supportive and nurturing to all.

The Formula for Success presented in this chapter suggests that we are most likely to achieve good outcomes when we use programmes that have been proven to work, based on high standards of evidence, apply effective implementation methods, and build the capacity for enabling contexts at multiple societal levels (e.g. individual, organisational, community provincial/state and national). We provided several examples of SEL programmes that have been successfully implemented internationally, but also encourage the identification of programs in Africa that can be evaluated and, if proven effective, scaled-up. Successfully translating interventions developed elsewhere into African contexts will require programme developers to work in close partnership with local community partners. Ideally, effective SEL programmes will begin at pre-school, continue through high school and involve students, parents, educators and community members in their implementation.

As stated in *Building Peace from Within*, building a culture of peace is arduous, reiterative and marathon-like in terms of its progress.⁷⁴ Peace activist and clergyman William Sloane Coffin articulated this challenge well when he said, 'It is one thing to say with the prophet Amos, let justice roll down like mighty waters ... and quite another to work out the irrigation system'.⁷⁵ The emerging field of implementation science – the science of putting what works into practice – provides frameworks, tools and resources to help us put what we know works into practice.

Implementation science tells us that effective implementation is a challenging process that occurs in clear stages and requires significant up-front resources and an ongoing structure to support implementation once it begins. Fostering an enabling context for implementation across the different implementation stages requires a focus on building the capacity for quality implementation across multiple levels (individual, organisational, community, provincial/state and national).

Successfully supporting capacity development requires a broader systems perspective, which builds an infrastructure at the local level, by

involving grassroots and community-based agencies in the process.⁷⁶ Our example of the Steps to Success project in a neighbourhood in Denver, Colorado illustrates how Communities That Care (CTC) can be used as a guiding framework to engage and organise the community to build an infrastructure of effective social emotional learning and violence prevention programmes at the local level. CTC integrates all three critical components of the Formula for Success (effective programmes, effective implementation and an enabling context) into a flexible community-based strategic approach that connects prevention science to grassroots community organisation. At the core of CTC is a long-term commitment to focus on what communities truly need, while staying true to the key elements of prevention science. CTC facilitates a change process that embeds and sustains effective, well-defined interventions in real-world settings.

Although success in implementing evidence-based SEL has occurred in pockets throughout the world, we are still far from the vision of scale we dream of achieving. Widespread implementation of effective SEL programmes will require thoughtful realism about how this is simultaneously important, difficult and possible.⁷⁷ There are no shortcuts. Implementing effective peace education programmes that embed social emotional learning/*Ubuntu* value throughout the schools and communities of Africa will take significant time and resources. Could Africa take these lessons and lead the way? We deeply hope so, and look forward to working together to see this vision realised one day.

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Peace Education Pedagogy

Feminist and Intersectional Critical Thinking to Teaching and Learning

Pamela Machakanja

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores peace education pedagogy from a feminist and intersectional perspective. It interrogates the neglect of feminist and intersectional thinking within traditional peace education teaching and learning and argues that through feminist and intersectional peace thinking we can encourage the change of mindsets for sustainable peace, gender justice and inclusive approaches to educating for peace. The chapter asserts that peace education as a multidisciplinary area of study has suffered from explanations that use single-lens perspectives. Quite often, such perspectives are underpinned by patriarchal and dominating assumptions that need to be interrogated using transformative feminist and intersectional thinking and analysis. This paradigm shift is based on the recognition that feminist and intersectional thinking and analysis contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of peace education than a non-feminist and non-intersectional analysis. The paradigm shift further acts as a pressure point towards advocating for comprehensive pedagogical strategies whose goal is to empower both teachers and learners in co-creating and nurturing cultures of peace for diverse and complex situations.

CONCEPTUALISING PEACE EDUCATION

According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), peace education can be conceptualised as a process whose aim is to promote knowledge, skills and attitudes and values essential for changing behaviour with a view to preventing all forms of violence and resolve conflicts through non-violent means. Peace education is also a response to creating conditions for peace at the personal, interpersonal, intergroup, national and international levels.¹ It is important to note that while the concept of peace education can be defined using different contextual lenses, the common denominator is that

all definitions carry a universal positive value whose agenda is to promote peace with justice for all humanity. The need for peace education has never been as important as it is now because of the multifaceted and protracted nature of current conflicts, and the lack of a clear strategy for resolving them.

In the context of this chapter, the concept of peace is informed by Johan Galtung's notions of 'positive peace' and 'negative peace'.² Positive peace involves the elimination of all forms of violence, including direct, structural, cultural, personal, inter-personal and inter-group violence at all levels of society. This type of peace involves positive thinking and positive attitudes essential for the development of peaceful societies grounded in the principles of justice for all groups of people, democratic values that respect fundamental freedoms, including freedom from fear, intimidation, insecurity and violence. On the other hand, negative peace is characterised by the mere absence of violence, without taking into account the values, needs and aspirations of people. Structural violence, which is viewed as the most basic obstacle to peace, refers to injustices that are manifested in institutional policies, poverty, discrimination, marginalisation and unequal access to opportunities and distribution of resources, including power.

The justification for peace education is clearly enunciated in the preamble of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) charter, which states that 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men and women that cultures of peace can be created through consciousness raising and pedagogical mechanisms'.³ In the same vein, Albert Einstein pointed out that 'the problems we have cannot be solved at the same level of thinking that created them'.⁴ For Einstein, this implies the need for a new way of thinking and doing, where peace education becomes the central pillar in raising levels of consciousness to resolving everyday challenges.

Transformative thinking becomes critical if we are to move from cultures of war to cultures of peace. This understanding of peace education to a large extent recognises the fact that such transformation does not take place in a vacuum, but operates in a nested context of the values and norms of the family, peer groups, community and the society at large. The process of behaviour change then follows a sequence of stages in which an individual becomes aware of the issues of peace and conflict, and becomes concerned about how to resolve the conflicts through the application of acquired knowledge and skills. This becomes a motivating factor in individuals to promote and work for peace, as they continue to nurture cultures of peace through dialogical processes of non-violence.⁵

FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES ON PEACE EDUCATION

Feminism and feminist thinking mean different things to different people, as the terms are social constructions that frame people's everyday lived experiences. This implies that our understanding of feminism cannot take a homogeneous standpoint, nor can it be explained using a single lens, because we view the world in very different ways depending on the lens we use to construct it. Feminism and feminist thinking are diverse, and are framed by differences in class, culture and different lived experiences. However, feminism and feminist thinking share common goals and values, and the objective of achieving gender equality and social justice for women, who are viewed as an oppressed or marginalised group.

Ideas about feminist thinking frame our identity and inform our lives in personal and relational ways. From an ideological perspective, feminism is concerned with issues of social justice due to inequalities and discriminatory practices that are usually underpinned by hegemonic cultural practices. Patriarchy becomes a central factor in locating women in positions of subordination characterised by exclusion, stereotyping and marginalisation. However, despite the multiple perspectives to feminism, it is also important to understand that many feminist viewpoints are rooted in women's everyday life experiences, characterised by struggles for survival and for recognition as active agents in society. Brocke-Utne, in her book *Educating for Peace*, made reference to the devastating consequences that male aggression – manifested in militarism, war and domestic violence – has had for the lives of men, women and children.⁶ For her, feminism, which portrays interest in power and critical creative thinking, is the starting point in bringing about transformative change about non-violence, cooperation and coexistence.⁷

From a feminist perspective, it can therefore be argued that the low levels of girls' enrolment in school across Africa and the globe can be attributed to patriarchal and colonial social systems that stratified people not only according to class, but to whether they were male or female. The superiority given to male children in many societies relegate female children to the doldrums, in both society and aspirations of life, resulting in low self-esteem and confidence.

INTERSECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE TO PEACE EDUCATION

The intersectional perspective has its roots in black feminism, which fundamentally expressed the racial and gendered systems of oppression, discrimination and exclusion in very visible and dominant ways. The basic tenet of the intersectional perspective is the argument that while oppression, race, ethnicity, dominance and inequality are inherent markers of difference in society, they are inextricably intertwined to such an extent that we cannot gain a deeper understanding of them by using a single lens of analysis. Instead, these markers interact with each other in constructive as well as constraining ways. The main objective of taking an intersectional approach to our understanding of peace education is to make visible not only the differences and similarities among women and men, but to allow us to be aware of the fact that diversity stems from other social categories which affect these interactions in uniquely different ways. Like feminist thinking and analysis, using an intersectional lens to gain an understanding of peace education recognises the point that the generation of knowledge and its pedagogical analysis becomes meaningful when we help students and teachers to be creative thinkers in their search for solutions to issues of gender equality and gender-sensitive peace education curriculum.

Thus, an intersectional approach to peace education makes us realise that it is not enough to classify different situations as male- and female-oriented, and that we need to recognise the fact that issues of age, sex, sexual orientation, power and power relations are seriously implicated in our understanding and construction of our experiences with such situations. An intra-active understanding of intersectional peace education means that we re-conceptualise the classroom where peace education takes place in interactive as well as counter-active ways because of individual differences and orientations.

WOMEN AS AGENTS OF EDUCATING FOR PEACE

Stories about the role of women in advocating for peace can be traced to the devastating effects of the First and Second World Wars, when schools encouraged social studies teachers to teach about international relations as a way of helping pupils understand the evils of waging war against each other. Efforts were made to create interest in Education for World Citizenship as a strategy for achieving world peace. This was based on the conviction that during the war period schools used teaching methods that

instilled war attitudes in youth through indoctrination about nationalistic and protectionist values. In order to reverse these retrogressive attitudes and behaviours, peace educators were tasked with the responsibility of transforming schools into zones of peace and raising awareness against war and work for a new social order characterised by a universal approach to moral reasoning. In Betty Reardon's view, moral reasoning inculcated in youth sound political thinking framed by conceptual clarity, rationality and reflective inquiry.

There is adequate evidence which shows that many of the peace educators in the early twentieth century were women. For example, Jane Adams, an American woman and Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1931, was well known for encouraging schools to enrol immigrant minority pupils since 1907. Central to her work was the slogan 'peace and bread', through which she advocated a vision that explained poverty as one of the major causes of war. For her, the role of education was to create democratic communities whose aim and aspirations resonated with women's struggles. She challenged the traditional and patriarchal dominated curriculum that limited educational choices and opportunities for women and girls. Adams advocated for women to work for reforms aimed at ending child labour and all forms of slavery and abuse. She was also instrumental in international campaigns for the League of Nations, which was established after the First World War with a view of establishing a global forum where nations would legally fight to outlaw war.⁸

Following in the footsteps of Jane Adams, Maria Montessori, an Italian woman, travelled across Europe encouraging peace educators to abandon authoritarian pedagogies and replace them with transformative curricula that were child-centred in both content and pedagogy.⁹ Central to her philosophy was the notion of peace, where the application of democratic approaches to education would deter pupils from admiring war as a way of resolving conflicts. Instead, cultures of peace and peace attitudes were viewed as a foundation of educational curricula that advocated for love, respect for authority and equality among all people. Children were viewed as central pillars for the future generation, hence the need to invest in them as a way of promoting peace in the world.

According to Maria Montessori, the teacher's pedagogy and the environment where learning takes place are crucial in building a peaceful social order for child-led and child-centred learning. A democratic school environment is a place for transmitting knowledge, reflective of nurturing frameworks founded upon societal networks and relations sensitive to the values of humanity and interdependence. For Montessori exploratory

learning experiences provide opportunities for youth to learn from their experiences, from their peers as well as their teachers. Dialogical forums create avenues for experience-based knowledge and reflection. Efforts should be made to promote the link between art, theatre and peace education as a strategy for motivating pupils to promote peace creatively.¹⁰ For Montessori, children are endowed with spiritual energies that, when nurtured, will bring influential inner energies and direction for positive peace underpinned by values of justice, empathy and humanity. Inherent in the concept of peace is the positive notion of productive and transformative social change.

Elise Boulding, known as the feminist ‘matriarch’ of twentieth-century peace research, conceptualised peace education as both a philosophy and process encompassing knowledge and skills that include listening, problem solving, cooperation and conflict resolution.¹¹ Through a feminist lens, ‘peace learning’ – a term she preferred to peace education – is central to the issues of non-violence and empowerment, through love, devotion, empathy and respect for life. Peace learning comprises the ability to think globally and act locally in relational and transformative ways.

A major theoretical focus for Boulding is the idea that peace is a daily process which begins at the micro-level of the family unit. For Boulding, understanding peace calls for deeper understandings of the interconnections between peace and poverty, racism, environmental damage, and structural and psychological violence.¹² A state of peace is characterised by a relational equilibrium between the intra-personal, inter-personal and inter-global. Informed by intersectional thinking, Boulding argues that women and men, though different in their experiences of social reality, are interdependent of each other as agents of peace.¹³

Betty Reardon, using a human rights and global citizenship lens, defines peace education as a comprehensive global process aimed at controlling, reducing and eliminating violence with a view to promoting human dignity, recognition and self-fulfilment among global citizens. For her, comprehensible peace comprises the absence of direct, structural and cultural violence, viewed as the major sources of poverty and inequality between rich and poor societies.¹⁴ The role of peace educators is viewed as developing pupils’ critical and analytical thinking and consciousness about the global inequalities, and equipping them with knowledge and skills to transform these life-threatening problems.¹⁵ Reardon argues that while many parents view the school as a safe environment for their children, in most cases the school represents a system characterised by structural violence, hence the need for change towards transformative peace education.¹⁶

INVESTING IN EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

In Africa, women's participation and influence in peace processes at all levels of society is evident through different initiatives, despite continued challenges with patriarchal systems that create barriers to women taking leadership positions in the public sphere. Women continue to play critical roles as agents of change in many of the post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding processes.

In Liberia, women play a very crucial role in building peace as part of the reconstruction and healing process. For example, since the end of the war and the election of a new female president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the education of girls has been transformed in very dramatic ways. Girls are now inspired to challenge the traditional gender roles that marginalised them from accessing education. Many Liberian girls are now encouraged to enrol in schools with the aim of achieving academic excellence. This emerging trend is evidenced in the UNESCO report on gender parity, which showed that the ratio of girls to every 100 boys in Liberian primary schools rose from 74 in 1999 to 94 in 2007.¹⁷

In Somalia, after years of the brutal war that destroyed both human beings and infrastructure, there is now the realisation that achieving universal education for all Somali children requires much more innovative and proactive approaches. With support from UNICEF, through its 'back to school campaign', efforts have been made to raise awareness among the different tribal communities to encourage children of school-going age to have access to basic formal education. Because of the war and the total collapse of the education system, many youth did not have the opportunity to access even basic education. Today, through the concerted innovative efforts of the local and international communities, about 20 per cent of primary school-aged children have access to formal education.

Despite the many challenges with lack of or limited school supplies, many children have access to primary education with an emphasis on child-centred teaching and learning. Communities, together with government and international agencies, are embracing new ideas through campaigns that advocate for children's education – particularly girls – such as celebration of the Day of the African Child, Teachers' Day, Education Week, International Peace Day, International Women's Day and Independence Day. On such commemorative days they use children as spokespersons for campaigns to highlight the importance of education, particularly for girls. The establishment of 'reading corners' in classrooms is encouraged to facilitate increased literacy levels. Efforts are also being made to support school rehabilitation,

with the view of creating child-friendly learning environments with an emphasis on teaching children non-violent approaches to resolving disputes and conflicts. Teachers are trained on gender issues and the importance of gender equity within a holistic rights-based framework, and safety nets are being strengthened for the most vulnerable children through fee exemptions and promoting the supply of clean water and sanitation facilities for both boys and girls.¹⁸

In South Sudan, all of the major challenges that the country currently faces have strong implications for the education sector: the need for continued healing and rehabilitation as the nation recovers from the effects of war; the need to prevent the occurrence of further conflict, by fostering a conducive environment which prizes the values of peace, democracy, equality and tolerance; the need to produce a qualified and relevant workforce to spearhead the development of the country; and the need to steadily nurture the fragile peace for economic recovery.

Given this scenario, prioritising education and promoting gender equality has become central to the world's newest nation, whose illiteracy rate is over 90 per cent, with 64 per cent of children aged between 6 and 11 years out of school; with a primary school completion rate of only 10 percent, representing the lowest in the world; and with only 37 per cent of girls aged between 6 and 13 attending school. Faced with such challenges, the need for an accelerated yet quality-oriented education has become imperative. Under the UNICEF-supported Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP), efforts are being made through the use of children's clubs to encourage girls who dropped out of school – because of early marriage and family poverty – to enrol and continue with their education.¹⁹

Similarly, the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace (SWVP), formed in 1994, was concerned about the protracted and violent nature of the conflict and committed themselves to work towards ending the war using non-violent means. Through awareness raising and networking, they work with women and youth in affected communities, encouraging them to actively participate in their local communities, where they hold meetings and seminars with grassroots women and youth. Their advocacy and lobbying efforts include the making and distribution of posters and T-shirts with peace messages to members of their communities. They also produce a quarterly newsletter called the 'New Voice' as a strategy to facilitate dialogue among warring parties.²⁰

In Sierra Leone, girls – like in other parts of the world – face a multitude of barriers to education, including a high rate of early marriage, teenage pregnancy, patriarchal segregation values, lack of parental guidance and

sexual exploitation at home and school. Because of the war, teenage pregnancy and poverty have been the major challenges against girls' education. Since the end of the brutal war, there have been collective efforts by the government, international and local communities and policymakers to confront this reality and reverse the dominant patriarchal trend that marginalised girls from accessing education as much as the boys. Through a campaign programme called 'Girls' Education Week', UNICEF encourages government, local communities and parents to invest in girls' education as a strategy to advocate for equity and eradicate sexual abuse and exploitation. Using this campaign strategy, calls have been made for stricter legislation in support of girls' education, through the ratification and implementation of the Sexual Offences Act and the enforcement of the Child Rights Act of 2007 – thus ensuring the protection of their rights and dignity.²¹

The Sierra Leone Women's Movement for Peace (SLWMP) and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Sierra Leone) (WILPF-SL) continue to promote peace, after decades of war that maimed or claimed the lives of many innocent civilians. These movements network women from all levels of society, emphasising training around trauma healing and gender-based violence as a way of keeping the experiences of women alive and using their stories to promote peace and work against war. Through women journalists they regularly release peace messages and press releases to members of government about issues that affect women, and encourage other journalists to practice gender-sensitive news coverage and reporting. They also support war affected persons by providing shelter and building schools for displaced children as a way of preventing vulnerable children from becoming idle or roam the streets because of family neglect.²²

ENGENDERING FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL CRITICAL THINKING IN PEACE EDUCATION PEDAGOGY

Feminist and intersectional pedagogy advocates for social change that goes beyond political correctness to include tolerance, cultural diversity and transformative critical thinking in relational ways. It is interested in interrogating the classroom as a location characterised by patriarchal and hierarchical value systems that either constrain or provide opportunities for effective learning opportunities for different categories of pupils, including those perceived as marginalised groups. Both perspectives focus on contextualising new frameworks for teaching and learning, with the aim of developing reflective learners capable of making logical arguments about

the necessity for peace. However, these perspectives advocate for multiple realities of women's experiences and identities.²³

The other central argument for feminist and intersectional thinking is that while the educational system may be restrictive as a bureaucratic dominant social system, the different power relations of dominance play different roles that impact on peace education in multiple ways. Critical feminists grounded in intersectionality argue that the school's overemphasis on competition only serves to marginalise groups of students – most of whom are women, minorities and those from low income backgrounds – in differentiated ways.²⁴ Transformation can only take place through changing the old systems into new, dynamic ones that foster knowledge and values of equality, critical thinking and creativity best understood as positive peace. The intersectional approach promotes the creation of new tools for understanding and overcoming barriers of social hierarchies and dominance through the provision of experiential and analytical viewpoints.²⁵ The point of departure, then, in this transformative process is the adoption of a more complex and multi-layered analytical lens to explain and understand the dynamic realities of both students' and teachers' life experiences. Informed by the intersectional perspective, the response towards transformative peace education would not be limited to dealing with issues of discrimination and exclusion using unitary approaches, but to embrace multiple social realities of dominance, power and power relations in interdependent and interconnected ways.

Feminist and intersectional pedagogy for peace education is also grounded on key principles that set the broad foundation of any peace education curriculum and critical peace thinking. The focus is on equality in a teacher-learner relationship characterised by mutual co-creation of knowledge, skills and values that frame the educational experiences of the classroom. Knowledge and experiences are valued in ways that allow all to share experiences, remain open to learn from each other and be flexible to new ideas. Feminist like intersectional peace pedagogy recognises the importance of dialogue, where the teacher is a facilitator of learning by posing questions that stimulate critical thinking and debate. Self-reflection, which spurs curiosity, involves taking a step back as a way of introspection.²⁶ Feminist and intersectional peace pedagogies embrace inclusivity, diversity and equality in the classroom, in the sense that men and women, boys and girls, in their differentiated and dynamic ways, are viewed as equally capable but complex human beings.

In line with intersectional thinking, feminist peace educators advocate for education that promotes social activities which integrate cooperative

learning, heterogeneity and diversity, as opposed to individual activities that encourage competition and divisions in the classroom. For example, Nicholson, Gepi and Young researched first graders to identify collaborative activities in the use of computers.²⁷ Their findings demonstrated an inclination for more collaborative activity among female student groups and more competitive activity among male groups as well as mixed gender group preferences. In a similar study of girls' interactions with computers, Hanor found evidence for a female preference for collaborative activities while using computers.²⁸ These findings inform us of the need to approach teaching and learning using multi-disciplinary and multi-approach mechanisms that address the needs of different pupils.

STRATEGIES FOR ENGENDERING INCLUSIVE CULTURES OF PEACE

Adams defines a culture of peace as,

an integral approach aimed at preventing violence and violent conflicts, and an alternative to the culture of war and violence based on education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between women and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament.²⁹

Analysis of Adam's conceptualisation implies a process-oriented culture that promotes peacefulness and inclusivity while visualising the inadequacies of exclusionary practices. Informed by intersectional thinking, critical peace education pedagogy becomes an integral part of any teaching and learning, in the sense that the processes of imparting knowledge become grounded in deeper understandings of how pupils learn within contexts of differentiated gender, class, ethnicity, religiosity and sexuality. This comprehensive and holistic approach to teaching and learning should be guided by the principles of cooperative learning, equality, participation and inclusion, based on the assumptions that there is an inherent link between critical empowerment characterised by dialectic and intersectional processes and reflective inquiry about cultivating cultures of peace. The intersectional and feminist-oriented pedagogical learning environment should allow both teachers and pupils to operate in democratic open spaces that facilitate critical thinking which challenges conventional beliefs through rational critique.

With reference to Paulo Freire's pedagogical thinking, a peace education teaching and learning experience is characterised by teachers who view themselves as continuous learners just as much as the pupils share their

knowledge experiences with others.³⁰ Peace educators who are sensitive to the linkages and interdependence among issues of gender, race, social class, inclusion and exclusion are in a better position to develop cultures of peace. Peace education becomes a vehicle through which both male and female students develop critical thinking aimed at transforming society without categorising each other as a homogeneous group of losers and winners. Such intersectional critical pedagogy becomes relevant as it links the empowerment of students to the process of social transformation and praxis. This process becomes imperative for engendering cultures of peace in the school and society.

In discussing peace education pedagogy there is need to think about how teachers impart learning and how children respond to such learning through a process of collaborative dialogue. Cassidy and Jackson stress the need to acquaint teachers with the underpinnings of intersectionality because, traditionally, teachers have been trained to view pupils as a homogeneous group instead of a set of unique individuals differentiated by social class, needs and opportunities.³¹

Similarly, teachers have been known to develop varied reactions to indiscipline and deviant behaviour by pupils from particular social groups. For example, some teachers might react to indiscipline by pupils from upper social classes leniently and with greater tolerance than they would do with pupils from a lower class. Such selective behaviour could result in stereotyping, gender and social class insensitivity and the negative labelling of pupils, by pupils against other pupils through bullying, and also by teachers and school authorities. The labels of bully and delinquent behaviour become attached to the affected individual pupils.³² It is because of these negative consequences that teachers should have a deeper and well-grounded understanding of the concept of intersectionality and its implications not only for teaching and learning, but for society as a whole.

Knowledge and understanding about intersectionality facilitate critical and reflective thinking in ways that accommodate the complexities of pupils' social realities – many of which are characterised by the need for recognition, love, friendship and security as well as by experiences of discrimination, exclusion and violence in their individual subjective and collective social settings. These complex realities therefore call for critical and reflective mindsets with the capacity to integrate pupils' individual experiences without homogenising, fixating and stereotyping anyone.³³

Thus, the development of gender-sensitive teaching and learning strategies for building cultures of peace, as argued by Elise Boulding, becomes relevant for teachers to develop innovative and non-violent approaches³⁴

– approaches that adhere to the principles of active engagement, participation, inclusion, empowerment and consciousness raising, critique and interrogation of taken-for-granted, everyday classroom experiences. In order to develop sustainable cultures of peace, pupils at all levels of school-going age need to be exposed to teaching and learning experiences that respect each pupil as unique individuals, capable of contributing to the learning as well as questioning the process. Learning becomes empowering if it recognises that despite the different backgrounds children bring in a learning situation, there is need to make the learning environment accommodating to all for experiential learning.

Peace with justice

Strategies that respond to peace with justice focus more on understanding the role of teaching human rights issues in order to understand and interrogate issues of domestic violence, all forms of harassment – which include physical, social, emotional and psychological abuse – and cultural violence. By their interactive nature, these factors legitimise stereotypical behaviours aimed at dehumanising women and girls just as much as they may glorify male dominance. In line with feminist and intersectional thinking, this approach to teaching peace education is based on the argument that certain human rights are non-negotiable, hence the responsibility of governments, parents and schools to fulfil those rights through the provision of shelter, food, security and protection.³⁵ For example, the UN conventions on the Rights of Women and the Rights of the Child call for the elimination of all forms of violence as a basis for the creation of a just society enshrined in principles of justice and peace.³⁶

The teaching for peace with justice also entails raising awareness among pupils about law enforcing agencies to which they can appeal in their quest for justice against all forms of human rights violations. Developing cultures of peace through advocating for justice also implies that peace educators can be more concerned about domestic, cultural and ethnic violence, and how to reinforce intervention strategies that can enhance healing in pupils raised in violent environments and cultures. Equally, the same peace educators need to recognise the social markers that differentiate pupils by their sexuality, disability, religion and social class.³⁷ They need to realise how these markers can have an impact which might privilege or further discriminate, marginalise or exclude other pupils.

An intersectional lens can also illuminate contradictory tendencies operating within the dynamics of dominance and repressive relations. For

example, a young female pupil who is a refugee and is illiterate can be more vulnerable than a young female pupil from an affluent urban family. Informed by intersectionality, this scenario tells us that everyone can be affected by experiences of inclusion or exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination and vulnerability; and that the categories and social markers of being privileged or marginalised and excluded have implications for the regulation of what happens in any educational setting.

In line with feminist and intersectionalist thinking, this requires that teachers, as peace educators, understand the different aspects of exclusion, discrimination and privileging of pupils if they are to overcome the barriers to participatory and inclusive learning. The responsibility of the peace educator therefore, is to ensure confidence and enhance the capacity of the affected pupils to question the status quo. The process becomes a strategy of empowering pupils to make informed choices about the most viable coping strategies. Through education for peace and justice, schools should advocate for the upholding of rights against discriminatory practices that promote gender inequality and injustice. This implies the need for transformative education that helps foster confidence, empowerment and resistance against violence and exclusion.

Conflict resolution skills

Educating for cultures of peace requires that teachers be sensitive to the importance of conflict resolution skills in addressing situations of conflict in everyday life. Based on the realisation that we cannot eradicate conflict, but that it is how we respond to conflict situations that matters, it is imperative for peace educators to teach conflict resolution skills in all educational settings, whether formal, non-formal or informal. Through conflict resolution pupils learn basic communication skills essential for dealing with personal, interpersonal and relational conflicts. Communication becomes a central tool that empowers pupils to resolve their disagreements through dialogue.

Conflict resolution further equips the pupils with human relations skills aimed at anger management, impulse control, emotional awareness, empathy development, assertiveness and problem solving.³⁸ Pupils learn peacemaking skills to effectively deal with interpersonal conflicts within and outside the school, in the family and with peers. Conflict resolution as part of holistic education teaches youth about conflict prevention through the development of resilience skills to avoid drugs, unhealthy sexual behaviours and violence.

Another strategy for educating for peace, especially in contexts characterised by intractable conflict, is to view peace education from the perspective of the enemy. This approach, as Salomon points out, allows pupils to develop empathy towards other people perceived as enemies.³⁹ The approach brings in the realisation that while the antagonistic parties might not need to agree with each other, they can reconcile with each other and thereby build mechanisms that facilitate peaceful coexistence.

Peace activism

Peace activism refers to strategies that are aimed at advocating for particular issues that impact on our everyday lives. For example, teaching pupils environmental education would provide insights about the threats to our lives posed by the destruction of our natural habitat. Environmental activism can raise awareness among the youth about the consequences of environmental or ecological damage resulting in devastating climate change, environmental degradation and deforestation. Peace activism empowers youth to think creatively and act proactively towards developing environmental sustainability and how to use resources in renewable ways. Pupils will realise that the deepest foundations for peaceful existence are rooted in creating schools that are environmentally sustainable. Pupils can be involved in recycling projects as a way of helping manage their waste in more sustainable and profitable ways. Tree planting projects would not only enhance beauty within the school surroundings, but teach pupils about environmental conservation essential for managing the harmful effects of climate change within their localities.

Peace theatre and drama

Youth in Burundi, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Rwanda have been involved in theatre, art and drama as ways of advocating for peace and as part of the psychosocial healing and dealing with traumatic pasts among communities. In Liberia, creative art, drama, song and dance have been used in schools and community clubs to help youth express themselves emotionally and as a source of livelihood. Such activities, when incorporated in the school curriculum, can be therapeutic to those pupils whose lives have been affected by war and conflict in different ways. In Zimbabwe, Africa University is well recognised for their fundraising campaigns for institutional development through the production of CDs on peace songs. The songs are sung in different languages represented within the student body.

Community-based peace education

Throughout history, peace education has been practiced by generations in different cultural settings as a way of resolving conflicts non-violently. People have used traditional mechanisms through informal peace activities in accordance with their cultural values and expectations to promote peaceful coexistence and security and to instil cultures of peace among the younger generation. Informed by the concept of *Ubuntu* – which denotes an African philosophy or worldview of humanistic living underpinned by cultural values that explain one's identity as being rooted in the sense of collective community – the goal of peace education becomes anchored in developing respect and dignity.⁴⁰

For example, as part of capacity building leadership training, refugee youth from Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo have undergone training as a way of building their capacity to play meaningful roles in peacemaking and peacebuilding processes in their respective countries. Media training is also a strategy that has been used to influence the media community to produce radio and television programmes and news that promote peace and development instead of focusing on news that portray violence.

Peace camps

In Rwanda, there are peace camps designed for youth from different ethnic groups, who come together for recreational and community service activities. Youth working in collaboration with community groups involve themselves in brick making and building houses as a way of making a contribution to the community. Through these projects, the youth learn about leadership, decision making and team building. Similarly in Egypt, youth from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds are involved in summer school camps, where they learn about mutual understanding, coexistence, tolerance and accommodating diversity.

Sports and recreational programmes

In Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, as part of the peace education programmes, youth are involved in sports and recreational programmes aimed at building sportsmanship, teambuilding, cooperation and decision making skills. In Zimbabwe, Africa University organises an annual sports event called 'Peace Marathon', where sports persons of different age groups and capabilities are drawn from across Africa to compete in different events as

part of the campaign for peace and celebrating diversity through sport.

Life skills education: Zimbabwe's AIDS Action Programme

Life skills education is a feminist peace strategy that allows young people to translate knowledge, skills and values into action. As a coping strategy, it helps children and young people to become competent in dealing with the challenges of everyday life. Such life skills include cooperation, negotiation, empathy, self-awareness, critical and creative thinking, dealing with peer pressure, risk awareness, assertiveness and preparation for the world of work.⁴¹

In addition, in a joint partnership, Zimbabwe's Ministry of Education and UNICEF launched a holistic approach to AIDS education aimed at giving youth a range of life skills in addition to medical information about the prevention of transmission of HIV. The programme, which is based on the needs of young people, explores issues of self-esteem, coping with stress, gender roles, communication skills, decision making and dealing with peer pressure. The life skills programme uses role play and focus group discussions to share this information. For example, some of the situations that youth are expected to deal with relate to coping strategies for preventing rape and sexual abuse:

A stranger knocks on your door saying he is hungry and is in need of help.

What do you do?

You are alone at home. You are doing very badly in Geography. Your unmarried teacher offers to give you extra lessons in his house in the afternoons after school. What will be your response to him?

Students are encouraged to apply their skills in practical ways, such as carrying out small projects, or conducting interviews on the needs of people with HIV/AIDS, their families and the youth at risk.⁴²

Landmine awareness in Angola

In Angola, there is a landmine awareness programme called 'Snakes and Ladders' whose goal is to impart critical life-saving messages about landmines through cartoons, art and an innovative board game, similar to 'Snakes and Ladders', in which children have to find their way through the puzzle. At critical points in the game, children are expected to make decisions and negotiate their way around the puzzle. The decision making

process allows the children to deal with deadly situations like navigating a landmine infested area.⁴³

Advocating for peace through education campaigns

Peace campaigns have been used as a powerful tool to advocate for peace and push for social change as a way of empowering girls or children who fall victim to exploitation and domestic violence. One such example of an advocacy tool is the Malala Fund, founded by a Pakistani girl who was shot by the Taliban for refusing to stand down from what she believed was right, advocating for girls' education.⁴⁴ Having miraculously survived this act of terrorism, her voice remains an inspiration to all people who work for peace education through her peaceful protest and campaign for universal education for all children.

Inspired and led by her heroic and yet traumatic experience, the Malala Fund, now organised as an international non-profit organisation, was founded on the principle of breaking the cycle of poverty and ignorance by empowering girls through education. As an advocacy tool, the fund uses an integrated approach comprising three pillars to empower girls through education. The first pillar focuses on amplifying the voices of girls to make them visible and to inspire girls globally to aim high in education. The second pillar advocates for policy changes at the local, national and global levels in providing access to high-quality education. The third pillar focuses on the provision of quality education that has the potential to change local systems through the empowerment of local leaders and educators, who are the vanguard of society.⁴⁵

In Pakistan the Malala Fund supports children who are victims of domestic exploitation and violence by ensuring that they access education. In Somalia, public opinion surveys have been carried out to gauge people's opinions on the need for peace as opposed to supporting violent militias. Similarly, in Nigeria, the fund supports the campaign to bring back the student girls abducted by Boko Haram as well as supporting girls who are victims of early and child marriages by providing opportunities for them to access education. In Tanzania, the Malala Fund supports the commemoration of Peace Day, an annual event that draws many youth who engage in song, dance, poetry and discussion forums on peace issues. All these activities provide open spaces for children to express their needs as aspirations about the kind of world they want.

Exhibitions

As a way of raising awareness about peace and conflict issues, youth in Rwanda have competed in developing an education for peace logo, and in play-writing competitions aimed at developing critical thinking through story writing based on their war and peacebuilding experiences. In Liberia, exhibitions are used to showcase children's drawings about the effects of armed conflict and as a way of opening spaces for dialogue for peace. Similarly, Burundi has developed an annual calendar depicting children's rights.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

Feminist and intersectional perspectives constitute a peace strategy that informs how constructive teaching and learning can take place in environments affected by conflicts and war. Feminist and intersectional approaches to peace education are significant because feminist educators have been among the pioneers in advocating for cooperative, experiential learning and non-violent approaches to resolving conflicts. Teaching about alternatives to violence and approaches to cooperation and coexistence is the only strategy that will make a difference because peace education not only generates knowledge, but also creates platforms where both teachers and learners can share their experiences for a common goal of creating peaceful communities.

It has been emphasised that there is no one universal pedagogy to developing cultures of peace in learners, but that the multiple layers of pedagogical understanding need to be understood holistically in both theory and practice. Central to the discussion has been the point that peace education pedagogy, informed by feminist and intersectional philosophy, shifts between experience-based learning and intellectual dialogue, between self-reflective knowledge and cross-discipline knowledge systems. Our schools are challenged to provide an environment in which each learner can feel physically and psychologically safe from threats and danger and can find opportunities to learn with others for the mutual achievement of all.

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Trees, Poems and Drama to Create Reflexive Spaces for Peace building in Schools

Yvonne Sliep and Lynn Norton

INTRODUCTION

In the next chapter – ‘*We can’t walk alone*’: *Giving Voice to Children’s Fears* – research results of a study on adolescent schoolchildren’s fears and anxieties in a community south of Durban, in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa,¹ were taken back to participants through narrative theatre and the facilitation of a dialogue between children and adults. In this chapter, the poetry generated during this process is explored through the lens of critical reflexivity in order to raise questions that can be asked to inform interventions.

The goal of the chapter is to map the narrative reflexive journey we undertake to help us critically navigate the terrain for peacebuilding. Special attention is also given to the multiple layers of violence and abuse that destroy the social fabric of society, resulting often in various forms of social abuse and therefore the necessity for relational reflexivity, working at a social level for the collective good. Using a lens of narrative reflexivity allows a story to develop that not only unmask problems but allows for the exploration of potentials and possibilities. We aim to work towards energising and inspiring, rather than staying with stories that are problem saturated and deficient orientated.

The process allows people to look collectively at the question, ‘what is it we really want which is realistic and relevant?’ In this way, there is a shift in focus from problem to essence, that which is the best within us, perceiving that which is life giving and which is valued by us as a community. Poetic inquiry and narrative theatre are used to enable the journey from reflexive theory to praxis to enable agency, voice and social action. The challenges we encounter in the project will be used to illustrate the theory and the practice that could be explored and tried in other contexts, where it will take its own shape.

The poetry is interspersed throughout the chapter and used in two ways. Firstly, poetic voice is engaged through *Vox Theoria*, where concepts of the critical narrative reflexivity framework are presented through literature voiced poems. Secondly, use is made of participatory-voiced poems, known as *Vox Participare*.² The poetry is co-created and solicited from the

interviews and focus groups of the participants with a blend of researcher and participant voices. We explore what is there and what is absent. The topic of poetry is around the effect of violence and fear on children, which is used as a platform to generate narrative theatre. A critical reflexive space is created through the performance, which opens opportunities to develop other ways of being together through collective action.

In this way, we explore and develop both our understanding of reflexivity through poetry as well as exploring the poetry that is 'found' in the voices of participants of research through a critical narrative reflexive lens. This reflexive approach is a dynamic and continuous process that focuses on four aspects: power, values informing identity, agency linked to responsibility, and performance. These are represented as loops in a reiterative process that helps deepen our understanding about what happens within, and between relationships, and that can lead to positive social action.³ By staying reflexive we continue to develop critical consciousness around particular issues, in this case exploring fear and violence.

WHY POETRY? (POETRY AS A TOOL OF REFLECTION)

Poetic inquiry has been described as 'a mode of thought and discovery that seeks to reveal and communicate truths via intuitive contemplation and creative expression'.⁴ It can be used as both a method of reporting research and a tool for unearthing new discoveries and deeper meaning.⁵ Poetry, together with other creative modes of exploration, has also been viewed as a way of tapping into the unconscious in such a way that individuals are able to remove social masks that keep inner truths hidden, resulting in greater insight. Such a move is considered empowering and enables a shift towards constructive growth and action.⁶

Richardson sees poetry as an effective way of communicating 'lived experience';⁷ a way to re-create the experience of the person(s) involved so that the other person (who reads or hears the poem) can experience it as well. She says, 'A lyric poem "shows" another person how it is to feel something. Even if the mind resists, the body responds to poetry. It is felt'.⁸ Interpretative poems, written by researchers or authors, also represent an attempt to capture the essence of what their subjects are experiencing;⁹ to go below the surface and find the core of what is being said or happening.

Poetry, therefore, asks us to 'listen deeply'.¹⁰ In essence, it asks us to listen closely, to hear and to see what is underneath – to reflect. The reflexive nature of poetry in relationship between the individual and those around us

is well summed up in the following way: 'We are storytellers all, and poetry, an equally ancient part of that toolkit, is about all of us. It always has been. Many in the one, one in the many. The particular in the universal' (refer to poems in later sections).

WHY NARRATIVE THEATRE? (NARRATIVE THEATRE AS A TOOL OF REFLECTION)

Narratives are important in helping us to make sense of the world, not only for and about ourselves, but also about and for others. Our stories, and those of others, help us to reflect and to see the other side. Narrative Theatre reflects on the stories of people, and participants are invited to enact issues as they manifest in an example of how they unfold in reality. Narrative Theatre is a respectful, non-blaming approach used to strengthen communities. Drama is created from real stories of the members of the community, who are seen as experts on their own lives. The method creates the possibility to view problems as separate from people (externalisation) and assumes people have many skills, competencies, beliefs, values, commitments and abilities that will assist them to reduce the influence of problems in their lives.

The embodied nature of theatre and story-telling fits well with cultures of oral tradition and helps to reach realistic outcomes. As a facilitator, you do not have to pretend to be the expert of someone else's life; decisions are made collectively about which stories to work with, and in which order. People are actively involved (beyond words) through creativity and body work, and acting out scenes that they can connect to and which help them give voice to their concerns in a safe and accessible way. Also important is to deconstruct the silences and to make sure that all voices are heard, especially those that are generally marginalised.

As a methodology, narrative theatre works well as strategy for creating the space for critical reflexivity, especially inter-relational, and an awareness of different people's positions at a deeper level and in a non-judgemental way. It provides a safe space for exploring others' assumptions and deconstructing dominant discourses that are playing out in each other's lives. In the same way as poetry, drama helps to bring out the lived experience of the actors at a more emotive and deeper level than other forms of telling. This was also the case with the South Durban project, where the audience commented on actually feeling the Fear and Anger that was part of the

drama. The methodology of Narrative Theatre has been covered extensively in other publications.¹¹

CRITICAL REFLEXIVITY WITHIN THE NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Over time, reflexivity has been generally understood in terms of individual self-appraisal, a critical examination of the self-in-action. This focus on individual experience – holding central internal thought processes, feelings and actions – has been questioned in light of the complexity of interlinking relationships that are an integral part of societal or community interpretations. Little attention has been placed on relationships, the power dynamics in relationships, and overall context, which are critical considerations in the context of social action. Social action is collective action, it involves individuals working in relationship with others in an effort to transform societal conditions.

Reflexivity in this case requires an exploration of the assumptions and intentions of all role players, as reflected culturally, historically and politically. We need to look beyond ourselves and towards an understanding of each other. This, in turn, requires a suspension of our own assumptions regarding our pictures of reality, and an ability to listen to alternative stories of what others believe to be true, and to do so without judgement. Gergen refers to a necessary ability to grapple with a range of possible outcomes that may be informed by multiple standpoints.¹² This necessitates a reflexivity that is both dynamic and relational because it necessarily takes into account the social context. Such reflexivity is facilitated by the creation of safe reflective spaces, which enables a move away from a collectively incoherent story towards a preferred way of being that is collectively coherent.¹³

REFLEXIVITY

*Reflexivity
is the story
of our time
in this time
as part of
a longer timeline*

*reflexivity
is the ability*

*to bring together
hindsight and foresight
for better insight*

*reflexivity
is the ability
to question yourself
as you question others
to see multi-dimensionally
to become we*

Reflexivity is seen as relational both because our knowledge and language about our and others' positions come from past social interaction and because this occurs in a continuously constructed context, with others. It is not only an exercise of solitary self-observation, where one remains looking from the outside in, but one in which the self can better identify with others and so become connected and valued as part of a community; the central idea being that 'it is only within relationships that persons come to be identified and valued'.¹⁴ The theoretical position of critical reflexivity has been described in detail in other publications.

THE NARRATIVE IN REFLEXIVITY

The process of reflexivity as envisioned here is informed by narrative theory that holds it together, much in the same way as storytelling in the narrative tradition unfolds. Underlying the narrative approach are notions of language and power that hold that '[p]eople make meaning, meaning is not made for us'.¹⁵ The implications of this are that we have choice and hope. Although the way we speak and tell our stories is part of our context and cultural heritage, we can change the way we speak and therefore the way we understand our worlds, and we can better understand those of others.

Language is viewed as part of a multi-layered interaction; how we understand and speak about our stories matter and influence us and those around us. We shape our stories within the context of our social environment and history, so as to understand ourselves and others; we need to understand our own and each other's stories. The focus here is to understand deeply that people operate from within their own and different realities and have different ways of seeing the world, but that it is still possible to make meaning together.

Making shared meaning does, however, require reflexivity and social understanding. We need to understand the dominant story – how power works and which accounts of reality are dominant and which are less heard. Within the dominant story, we need to position ourselves – acknowledging possible multiple and contradictory positioning – and discover the subjectivity and the values that work best for us collectively while deconstructing the realities that are dominant but not necessarily true, or do not serve us best. In this way, we can begin to speak in our own voices and negotiate agency (as individuals and groups), finding strengths and potentials in our changing story, leading ultimately to living a preferred story involving positive social action. Negotiating power and the creation of new shared meaning is an ongoing process, not necessarily linear, but in partnership with reflexivity; it happens iteratively, back and forth. It is nourished by the foundation of a dialogical space that enables such critical reflexivity and, therefore, the development of a preferred storyline for the future.

NARRATIVE REFLEXIVITY AS A CRITICAL APPROACH TOWARDS SOCIAL ACTION

The process in terms of social action involves a shift from the individual towards a recognition of the relationships between people, and consideration of the multiple assumptions, intentions and effects of each member of the group and the overall impact of effects that arise from the interactions within the group and between various members. Building on the view that critical self-appraisal is necessary, inter-relational reflexivity requires then a further critical appraisal of self as a responsible member of collective action. It is a necessary process underlying meaningful participation in and commitment to sustained social action, and for the building of relationships based on trust.

Working within such a framework would therefore also aid in the creation of social capital that is both positive and has meaning for the individuals and groups concerned. In such cases, support groups or networks, for example, would then become more sustainable as they would be based on an understanding of the relative positions of different role players, and on either an express or tacit agreement to work together for beneficial preferred outcomes for the community involved, rather than for individual interests. This would be especially relevant when working on issues relating to child well-being and the inclusion of children in initiatives involving them – with

full recognition of children as agents in the process, rather than subjects from a marginalised group with individual problems and ‘small’ voices.

Such an appraisal would promote a deeper understanding of joint action and, when viewed as process, involves the four iterative loops referred to earlier in the introduction: deconstructing power in the collective; determining values and identity; negotiating agency and responsibility; and positive performance. Again, this is not an easy four-step process, but rather involves moving forward and back through the loops to draw on a critical understanding of where power lies (and who is marginalised), and of people’s intentions and assumptions and the effects that these have on the workings of the group, so that negotiated preferred outcomes can be collectively agreed and acted upon. At the heart of the process is the dialogical space where relational reflexivity is facilitated, and around which the narrative story is developed. Starting with an understanding of the dominant discourses, we can begin to position ourselves within the social story, to enable the hearing of a new collective voice which can lead to positive social action.

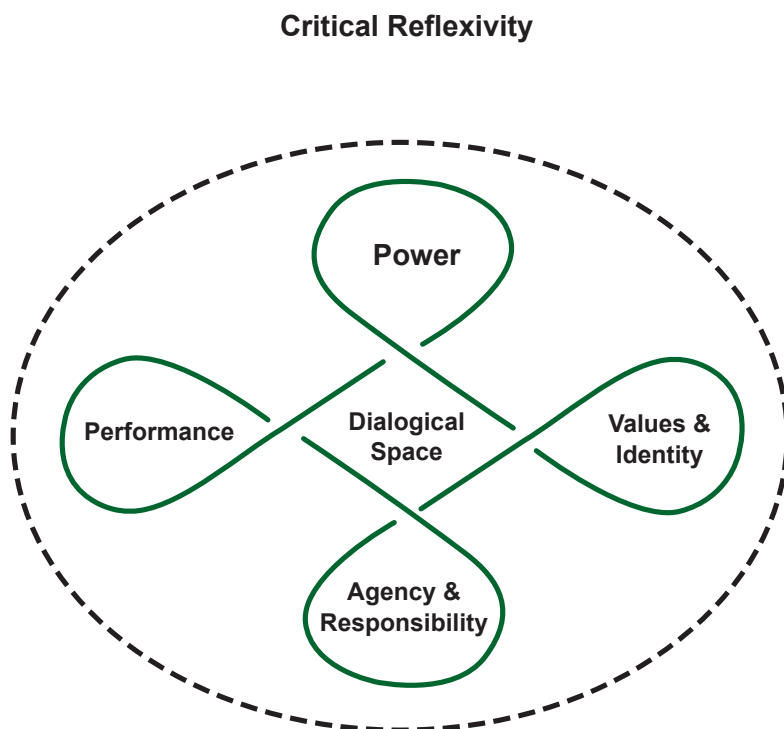
In reflexivity

*Spot the power
how it holds us
Weaves the values
to sustain us
Build the possibility
to take responsibility
Account for every we
Inside me
Every day
an opportunity
to connect essentially
to walk mindfully*

The diagram depicted in Figure 11.1 comprises four loops:

- *Power*: Deconstructing dominant discourses in the collective
- *Values and identity*: Social thinking, positioning in story
- *Agency and responsibility*: Negotiating a social voice
- *Performance*: Social action, living the preferred story

Figure 10.1: Critical reflexivity



DIALOGICAL SPACE

Within the loops is what we refer to as the dialogical space. It is the facilitation of this space that allows us to understand that there are many truths, and that what one person holds as real and sensible may not be true for another. At the core of reflexivity is to start to understand that our pictures of reality are shaped over time and influenced throughout history. Knowledge is co-constructed and communal; it is not 'something people possess, somewhere in their heads, but rather something people do together.'¹⁶ Or, stated another way, 'Truth is not to be found inside the head of an individual person, it is born between people collectively searching for truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction'.¹⁷ Bohm refers to a 'pool of knowledge' which has accumulated throughout human history and which shapes our perception and meaning of the world, and states that 'the essential difficulty here is that we automatically assume that our representations are *true pictures of reality*, rather than relative guides for action that are based on reflexive, unexamined memories'.¹⁸

Working with diverse cultures and groups requires an examination of the certainty of our own representations, to enable us to be more critical and to challenge what have been considered essential ‘truths’ but are in reality dominant discourses, in terms of gender, race or class, that disallow knowledge creation in marginalised groups. What is required, then, is a suspension of what we consider to be obvious or true, and the need to listen to alternative framings of reality or multiple standpoints. Further, if reality is something that we produce, it means that it can be changed and we can look to different knowledge and a preferred knowledge that is co-constructed for the benefit of the group, towards positive social action.

To facilitate such an understanding requires a social dialogue. Bohm refers to a dialogue (rather than a discussion, which often has a competitive edge to it) as a ‘flow of meaning through two or more individuals as a collective, and out of which may emerge new understandings’. It involves a sharing between people, through language as a cultural symbolic tool, with the conversations between individuals or members of a group being the medium for sharing meaning.¹⁹ A dialogue therefore is seen as a collective form of communication that is both transformative and generative; it involves others, and therefore involves relationship. ‘As a relation, dialogue is characterised by inclusion and a reciprocal sharing, such that the individuals become one in and with each other’.²⁰

In essence, as individuals become one in and with each other they are in a reflexive relationship. Bohm views dialogue as a conversation that is aimed at looking at your thought processes and then changing the way these processes occur collectively.²¹ He stresses the importance of sharing our consciousness so that we are able to suspend our own assumptions about what is real and true, which will enable us to be able to think together. The group in dialogue becomes a mirror for each person and so creates an awareness of each other that can result in shared meaning. Reflexive dialogue enables us to move between the individual and the collective, creating a harmony between the two (*a stream that flows*). It is this shared meaning that is ‘really the cement that holds society together’ – or the members of the group that are working together towards a desired preferred outcome or story.²²

The South Durban project referred to earlier in the introduction offered a conscious creation of space for listening, hearing and talking (reflecting) with the children involved, and will be looked at in conjunction with the poetry (*Vox Theoria*) in terms of the four loops as a process of explanation, discovery and assessment. We were interested not only in the children’s reflections, but also the adult reflections and responses to the children, and

the interactions between them. The dramas performed by scholars for the adults, based on a narrative theatre approach, helped to render visible the children's voices and experiences in a safe way, as the presentations were based on stories that could happen to 'anyone your age'. This enabled the learners to express what they felt freely and opened a space for a dialogue with the adults afterwards, where both groups (adults and scholars) were given an opportunity to speak, with the others listening, before discussion took place together. In overall reflection, we would ask:

- Was there a move towards a more collective understanding of what is happening to and with children in relation to their experiences with violence and fear?
- Was the space for reflexivity that was provided enough to bring about a shift in power, deeper insight and a move towards increased agency for children as they gave voice to their experiences of violence and fear?
- Could this be used as a platform to motivate future positive performativity?

DECONSTRUCTING THE REFLEXIVE PROCESS – MOVING THROUGH THE LOOPS

Power loop

*You can give it
You can receive it
You can get caught
and devoured in it
The web of power
Shift it
Shape it
Share it*

*Be-aware
very aware
of the ever present
spinning of power
Where am I?
Where are we?
How do we connect?
Essentially?*

This loop involves a critical and continuous examination of power in the collective, and the differences in status and authority in the relationships of stakeholders. We consider the dominant story and look to understand who is holding the power and why. Making sense of how we and others understand our lives requires an understanding of dominant discourses in our current contexts. A discourse can be described as a set of stories about 'the way the world should be' which people use to make sense of their position in the world, and which lead to the creation of assumptions about what is right and wrong.²³ These stories can be prescriptive and affect the relationships of power between people, for example, husband, wife and child in the family discourse. In the reflexive process, it is therefore crucial to look closely at who controls the resources and who has the power to make decisions. We do this, not necessarily to dismantle power, but rather to understand more deeply how power is working in the group and what the effect of this is. Such understanding can then result in shifts and movements of power, enabling and making sure that even those who are marginalised have a voice and a space within the group.

In terms of the South Durban project, we may consider that children are often viewed as a marginalised group with limited agency and decision-making power, and this was confirmed by the learners in the focus group with comments like, *'parents don't like to listen'* and *'I would like to talk about the teacher's attitudes towards us. They think because they are in power they have to do and say whatever they want to us'*. The apparent authority of teachers and parents was clearly felt by the learners. We hoped that facilitating a dialogue, where children were able to express themselves safely in the presence of adults, would lead to a deconstruction of the discourse relating to power lying only with adults – and the belief that children *'know nothing'* – and give them visibility and voice. Further, this could also aid in negotiating new forms of relationships between teachers, parents and learners.

Having gone through a process of discussion and reflection, the learners appeared more confident, towards the end of the discussions, to correct parents and teachers if they disagreed. For example, they clearly told parents who wanted them to report on others that this could lead to victimisation after school and raised problems in relating to reporting that the adults had not considered. This led the teachers to ask further questions: Have things improved with the new security? How are things at school now? At this stage, we ask:

- Did the marginalised (children's) voices grow louder and stronger?

- Was there a shift in the relationship?
- Would teachers and parents consider asking learners their opinion before making decisions about them?

The poetry (*Vox Participare*) from the voice of children showed clearly the presence of physical violence and the power of the group in terms of gang violence, which is very prevalent in the community. This resulted in scholars experiencing fear on a daily basis:

*Just imagine
15 boys coming at you
Just imagine
15 boys coming to hit you
Just imagine
15 boys hitting you until you can't move
Just imagine
Can you?*

This is clearly abuse of physical power, resulting in gang violence that is difficult to respond to without adult intervention and help. Many children in the South Durban project experience multiple forms of adversity, violence and exposure at various levels, and the implications of this are far reaching. Looking only slightly below the surface, one can already see the complexity of what it means to grow up in a violent society.

There are various dimensions of violence, abuse and victimisation that require careful scrutiny and add to a burden of fear and distress carried by children. Not only are there various modes of exposure to violence – from direct harm to witnessing violence and to feelings of lack of safety due to an awareness of surrounding violence²⁴ – but these can also play out differently depending on the locus of the violence – home, school or community – all of which have an impact on a child's psychological distress.²⁵ Further, circumstances relating to the exposure can differ in relation to whether the violence is perpetrated by someone known to the child or by a stranger; and whether the violence or abuse is a single event or is ongoing.²⁶ Chronic exposure to violence, where the child is under continual threat of victimisation or where ongoing safety is a concern, also results in decreased ability of the child to cope, especially in the absence of adult support.²⁷

Further, abuse of children does not exist only if serious physical violence is present. There are multiple forms of child abuse and neglect – for example, sexual, physical, psychological and emotional abuse, witnessing

domestic or community violence, and parental verbal aggression. In disorganised communities and post-conflict contexts, where communities have been exposed to extreme stress for a long period of time, there is a breakdown of social fabric, often resulting in cycles of abuse that may or may not involve physical violence. Of specific concern is physical, psychological and sexual abuse of vulnerable family members.

All abuse involves a power imbalance between the victim and the perpetrator. Abusive behaviour is intentional and is perpetrated to get certain results. Racism, ageism, classism, ableism, and heterosexism contribute to and reinforce the abuser's power and oppressive behaviours. A variety of strategies or tactics are used by abusers, with the element of fear playing a crucial role in the maintenance and perpetuation of violence and abuse. The huge burden of victimisation and its often diverse and repetitive nature means that one needs to consider both the individual and contextual environmental factors that allow this burden to persist. This calls for a holistic approach to child victimisation, including consideration of the social implications of 'being a victim' and subject to stigma and social ostracism.

Perhaps one of the least recognised, or less visible but highly damaging forms of abuse is social abuse or public humiliation of vulnerable individuals or groups of people. Here we are concerned with the re-victimisation of already vulnerable children. This form of power may be less visible than physical power, but is not less harmful. In some cases, victims of violence or abuse may be re-victimised within their communities and ostracised for 'being a victim'.²⁸ Examples may include orphans, children who do not have a paternal or maternal figure in the family, or children who are unable to cope mentally or physically because of past trauma.

The term social abuse has been used loosely in the past to refer to the isolation of the elderly in society²⁹ and, in the cases of domestic abuse, where the abuser ridicules or puts down his or her partner in public.³⁰ In this context, we use the term social abuse as a form of collective abuse, where an individual (or group of individuals) is marginalised within their social setting owing to their victim status or vulnerability – contributing yet another layer to the violence and abuse that the person(s) is already experiencing. Typically, humiliation of the 'victim' takes place in a social setting by a group of people or by an individual with more apparent authority or power, the purpose being to embarrass someone in front of others and to show power over them and take away human dignity.

Social abuse can be seen in different forms of discrimination, social stigmatisation, and peer rejection and bullying of children. In the case of children, this appears to be even more pronounced as their vulnerability

may arise also in relation to their young age. Further examples may include ongoing disparaging comments by a group about an individual; planned isolation of an individual from a group; intentionally embarrassing a person in front of others; ensuring others see the person in a bad light; ignoring in public; not letting a child see friends; using family to blackmail a child into doing something against her or his will; and using a continual joke or put-down about someone in public. In whatever form it takes, social abuse manifests to isolate and victimise individuals resulting in disempowerment and a lack of agency.

In terms of the South Durban project, this was seen at different levels by participants, who expressed fear and anxiety in cases where family members, teachers or community members displayed this form of abuse. Expression of this type of abuse and clear abuse of power by those in positions of authority (adults) is revealed in the following words of the children:

At school

Teacher embarrassed me in front of the learners and made me look like a fool.

My teacher insulted me in front of the classes.

My teacher used to pick on me until I felt isolated and that made me really cross.

Family:

My granny verbally abused me – and still does – to the extent of me thinking about suicide.

When my mother or grandfather shout at me for nothing.

Community:

We usually don't get along and they think that we are rich, so they don't talk to us.

They look down on my family because we are poor ... they taking us as something that doesn't have future.

The following poem, constructed during the project and based on words taken from the participants, illustrates the social abuse and power at play being experienced by scholars in the school setting.

*It's not only sticks and stones
it is words that can cut you so
even looks can kill you inside
until you believe you are nothing*

*The click of the tongue
the gossip day and night
this time not the gangsters
but the others inside*

*Shuffling down the corridor
you know to look down
watch for the shifting shadow
that look that will cut you out*

*You are nothing
Nothing at all*

The children highlighted in many ways that there was a more invisible kind of abuse that was happening; abuse that took place amongst the youngsters themselves, but also from adults to children. Here we try to understand this and bring these types of abuse into the open by naming it social abuse, the effects of which add to the complexity of the psychological distress of victims of violence. Although aspects of this, such as bullying in schools, have been and still are the focus of much attention, the full effects on children have not yet been well researched. However, it is clear that the effects are deeply felt. This is reflected in the poem above and in the following poem, written by a 14-year-old schoolgirl who was part of a wider audience invited to comment on a poem about the fear felt by the school children in the South Durban project. Her poetry reveals how violence can be learned and directed towards others, both physically and socially.

*She sits smiling with her friends
Why does she get to smile?
Her friends lean forward as she speaks
No, no leave it
I can make her cry
just watch ME*

*I can throw down her things
I can break all her stuff
when I am finished
no one will look at her*

*She is so small
too small
too cute
I will break her*

*Why can't I be like her?
I'll push her to the ground
She'll go down without a sound
She knows what she did to me
Now I can finally be free
Free from the stares
Free from the things she has done*

*The flames start to flicker
I smile, laugh and run
But she cannot follow
She ruined my life
Tied down
She will burn
She doesn't smile anymore
Her screams disappear
Isn't school such fun!*

The violence can also be turned inwards. Some poetry that was written expressed suicide as the only way out.

Power relations, whether between adults and children or among children themselves, are viewed as extremely complex. However, it is not power itself that is 'bad'; rather, it is the effects of power and how it is used that can be detrimental. Power is about relationships between individuals or groups, existing only when it is 'put into action', and opens up the possibility for a range of reactions.³¹ Foucault's view of the exercise of power as 'a way in which certain actions may structure the field of other possible actions' indicates the importance of understanding how power works so that responses can be tailored in positive ways.³² This is critical when one considers the integral nature of power as deeply rooted in society – a part of every group interaction – and when viewed in terms of relationship. At the same time, this opens up a range of possibilities by engaging constructively with power relations. Knowing and exposing the wisdom in the voices of those who have less access to power is a crucial reflexive action.

*If only they asked us
we could tell them
We have power too
we also know
you will see
cross over to our side
let us talk this thing through*

Value and identity loop

*Must the compass
Always show North?
As if North is best
like the West
How do we find our way?
Which values in our heavens
to navigate our
meandering
in this life
how will most survive
with the moral map
we weave together
that is not
cast in stone?*

Here we do not look primarily at individual thoughts of what is wrong or right based on some universal principle, but rather to the importance of communal participation and collective negotiation on what is best for the group. What is important is the possibility of finding solutions and preferred outcomes for all stakeholders. This involves a type of social thinking that is created through interaction with each other for the collective benefit, and with recognition of different views.

We consider context and socio-historical timelines to better understand the intentions of all in the group and the effects these may have. The search is for what is valued by the group, and asking whether it is possible to create a shared meaning of what is preferred for all. Cognisance should be taken of marginalised voices (for example, the scholars in the South Durban project), and space should be created to examine all viewpoints (teachers, parents and scholars) as all occupy different positions. Each position has its own story about identity, but it is important to realise that people's

identities are not stable, but constantly changing over time, and that they change in interaction and relationship with others. Questions to be asked here would include:

- What is the history of this group/community?
- What values, strengths and abilities do we need to be reminded of?
- What vision do we have in mind for ourselves?
- Who determines the way forward?
- Which actions will bring the best outcomes for all?
- In what way can a collective way forward be negotiated?

The participatory-voiced or 'found' poetry using the words of learners and the dramas flowing from the South Durban project created the possibility for better meaning-making, inviting adults into the lives of the learners, not just to hear about it, but to feel it at an emotive level. This created a deeper awareness that something needed to be done. Adults were saying, 'we knew there was violence, but we didn't know how much or how children were experiencing it daily'. After reading the poetry and seeing the dramas, they could *feel* it.

- Would experiencing the lives of learners in this way stimulate positive action?
- Would adults come to understand the values and coping mechanisms that children were adopting through lack of choice?

Below is a poem that speaks to identity and how important it is for the developmental stage that adolescents find themselves. Without identity, children can feel overwhelmed and lost.

*I want to be cool
the cool kid on the block
fear flash from your eyes*

*Lets play the stabbing game
with our pencils and pens*

*Watch and block
never show me your back*

*This is the fighting game
except it is not*

*Every kid wants to be cool
Its either me or you*

In order to understand more incisively what the children are thinking beyond the problem that is presented, a space has to be created. One of the poems given to the youngsters was written by the researchers, giving a higher level of interpretation to the results. That made it more open-ended as to how the poem was interpreted, which is one of the added values of using poetry in this way. Every time the youngsters came together they would present a different scenario to the poem. In the last meeting, a drama was put together where a girl fell pregnant and was threatened to be thrown out of her aunt's home, where she was living with her mother. The aunt had the money and the power in this situation, and told the girl to go and have an abortion and return to school.

*How can you say
you are not the father?
What kind of a girl
do you think I am?
They told me
to go and kill
the child growing
inside me*

The boy talks to his friends about it after first denying that he is the father of the child.

*How do you know
you are the one?*

*I could be
I mean
I am
You know what
I am going
to man up*

*We will sort it
Sort it together*

After the children performed this piece they gave each other high fives, being really chuffed with what they had created. They were passionate and energised by acting out a story that was close to their hearts and depicted some possibility and identity.

Identity is a complex area that cannot be extensively covered here, but clearly individual identity and social identity are closely tied, one to the other. This is especially so when considering youth who may be searching for a sense of identity externally rather than internally. In such cases, social identity plays a strong role. Children have been described as ‘located in narratives of identity not of their own making’, and in a separate category to adults, while often facing similar risks and choices.³³ This further complicates their story and the development of identities that can be viewed as marginalised. Being marginalised can result in the forming of a ‘resistance identity’, which can be used to build a new identity to redefine your position in society. This has been viewed as being potentially transformative of societal structures, and would therefore be important to explore further in terms of children and social action, especially when done in participation with both children and adults.³⁴

Agency and responsibility loop

*Negotiating
rights and responsibilities
We all get a say
It is what they call
deep democracy*

*The stronger you are
the more response-ability
to look out for us
who have less access*

*Accountability
where every voice counts
We can circle
this way and that
but when you tell the story
whose story will it be?*

*Together we build
possibilities
to respond
collectively
to create
the landscape
in which we want
to birth
our legacy*

*Where am I?
Where are we?
Do we connect?
Inclusively?*

Negotiating agency and responsibility involves understanding the intentions and assumptions of all parties present and the effects of their intentions, so that all voices can be heard and a platform created for others to respond. Teachers, parents, and learners, for example, all have different responsibilities and different forms of accountability. Teachers are accountable in different ways to their learners, to the principal and to parents. Parents are responsible for their own livelihoods and providing for their children, and may also have responsibilities involving others in their extended families and communities. Learners have responsibilities and are accountable to parents or caregivers, their peers, teachers and themselves.

This can result in a web of possible contradictory standpoints, not only in conflicts of interests between the different parties but also within a person. In regard to reporting on violence, for example, a learner may be torn between duty to the school (reporting) and loyalty to or pressure from peers (not reporting). Taking account of the complexity of all positions and multiple relationships requires a deep understanding that is not easily revealed and will not happen on its own, but needs to be brought to the fore.

Enabling people to tell their stories increases agency, while people who feel that they are unable to solve problems or feel stuck or disabled in their stories will lose agency. According to Bandura, agency involves the power to influence, and therefore shape, your own life and is intertwined in the social structure.³⁵ 'People create social systems, and these systems, in turn, organise and influence people's lives.'³⁶ Bandura views agency as being interactive and emergent, with people being active contributors to their circumstances, and having the ability to make choices and plans of action,

and to regulate and motivate for action. Further, people are also considered to be self-reflecting and able to examine their actions and thoughts through self-awareness.

It is therefore necessary to cultivate these 'agentic capabilities'.³⁷ Facilitating a structure and safe space for dialogical reflexivity can be viewed as a conducive way to do so, as it opens the way for emergent agency and for giving voice to both the individual and the collective. Questions to consider in this regard would include:

- Was a platform created for a dialogical process?
- Was everyone able to speak freely? If not, what were the reasons?
- Were the needs of all parties taken into account?
- How was this done?

Where children are concerned, it is particularly important to create safe spaces where their voices are put at the centre instead of at the margins, which is often the case. This requires a peaceful atmosphere where we respect each other and listen without judgement. A reflexive platform was facilitated in the South Durban project, in terms of which the scholars were approached on the basis of 'not knowing' and asking them to share their experiences as experts in their own lives. This was facilitated through the narrative methodology, which allows people to express themselves safely in drama. The poetry found in the words of the scholars presented a picture of responsibility gone wrong in the lives of children who are faced with chronic violence and fear. Where there is no responsibility, it becomes a case of survival of the fittest.

*We learn maths and science
and methods of violence
in school and back at home again
Learning to survive
Parents hitting,
teachers punishing
Peers punching,
humiliating you
Learning violence
to survive
Kids play the fighting game
Learning to survive
Wouldn't you?*

The 'fishbowl' exercise – in terms of which adults spoke while the learners listened, followed by the learners talking and the adults listening – showed the beginnings of a process that could enable participants to look at accountability and responsibility. It offered a further platform for everyone – children and adults – to have a say, to have a voice. Scholars were able to respond to parent and teacher assumptions about how they thought things worked. It became clear that children are indeed the experts in their own lives.

Three modes of agency are identified in terms of Social Cognitive Theory: individual, proxy and collective.³⁸ Where individuals do not have direct control over conditions affecting them, for example children, proxy agency comes into play – they need to influence others who have knowledge or control over resources to act for them. Parents, caregivers and teachers are often required to act on behalf of children who do not have direct access to resources, but need to include children's views and opinions when offering such assistance. Collective agency is relevant when people need to work together and pool their resources, knowledge and skills. Key here is '[p]eople's conjoint belief in their collective capability to achieve given attainments'.³⁹ Exercising agency, especially individual and collective agency, is increasingly seen as contributing to human development; and all three modes of agency require consideration, and in many cases delicate negotiation, when working in participation with children.

Performance loop

*How do we actualise
the possible land
here and now?
How do we
walk the talk
think beyond
me and my?
See the vulnerable?
Make care a verb?
What will the story be
they tell about you and me
when we have long gone?*

In this loop, the internal process of reflexivity is translated into external practice; you become the thing you stand for. This is no longer just a head exercise, but involves doing what you say, or rather, putting into action

what ‘we’ say. Positive performative action is needed so that the group vision can be ‘lived’ and the preferred story begins to play out. This should be facilitated in a safe space and involve all players. For example, if we are to say that children are the experts in their own lives – if we are to truly believe this – then we must allow them to be the experts. Scholars should then be involved in all spheres of decision-making that affect them, their voices should be heard, and their opinions should be taken into account and acted upon. Questions that would need asking include:

- How would this be taken forward?
- Which issues can be worked with and would be dealt with?
- Who else should be involved? Other learners, other adults?
- Would the school take ownership of any initiative that was started?
- Would it be sustainable? How?

The process followed in the South Durban project involved the early stages of a reflexive process, opening the space for dialogue and creating a platform for deeper understanding and awareness, both by scholars (of their own experiences) and by adults (who started to *feel* the burden of scholars’ experience with violence and fear). Giving children a platform and including them in research and in matters that affects them helps give agency and affirms the right they have to have their opinions spoken, heard and acted on.

Too often, words are not put into action, research is started but there is no feedback to the main actors and no plan of action. In those cases, a cycle that starts to have meaning comes to a halt, and the problems which have started to erode through deconstruction start building up again. In the South Durban project, a teacher referred to an earlier project, where walls were painted and much was said about making the school a violence-free zone, but whose staff had never been seen again. *‘I did not see them again, so I don’t know what programme they were thinking of even. That’s wasting my time, really, because we do need programmes like that’*. In the focus group, scholars were asked whether talking together was useful and a participant wisely replied, *‘It does if there is going to be help, to be an outcome’*. Talking is a start, it is a motivator for agency, but it is not enough. This is illustrated in the following poem:

*We declared
our school
a violence-free zone
Painted the walls*

*and wrapped a tree
 colourful cloth
 for all to see
 In this school
 Zero tolerance
 for any form of violence
 And then we did not notice
 how it sneaked around
 not incidentally
 but all the time
 filling our corridors
 with fear*

Relevant questions to consider in relation to performance would include:

- How do we know we are walking the talk?
- How do we keep the dialogue going and critically reflexive?
- How do we protect space to share our stories?

Facilitating voice through creativity allows us to build an archaeology of hope, the start of living a preferred story. It is in every small step we take – not only in the big acts – that change starts to grow. Theory, however, needs to be transformed into action for social change to take place.

WHERE THEORY MEETS PRAXIS – WHAT MAKES THE DIFFERENCE?

Theory – in this case critical narrative reflexivity – informs interventions and stays an integral part of the process. Once the terrain of the issues at stake has been explored and well understood, interventions can be implemented. It is not possible, however, to completely separate the theory from the praxis, as the process of being reflexive as described works interactively to bring the theory into practice – to bring the voices to the forefront – and in that way informs any methodology that is developed. The research becomes the process and the process becomes the research. The following poem offers an overall picture of this, describing the process, and represents the researcher's reflection on the possibilities that arise when working reflexively in community.

In Dialogical Space

During the focus groups discussions where trust had not yet been established the participants were wary.

*Together in a circle
 deep in dialogue we sit
 Upon the floor
 drawing lines in the sand
 Demanding authority here and there
 uncomfortably, squirmishly
 shifting in our seats
 passing power nervously from hand to hand
 Small pieces at a time, bit by bit
 but slowly understanding
 listening to
 the silent voice*

In the planning of the drama there was much more energy but a sense of competition prevailed.

*Together in a circle
 deep in thought we sit
 Heads together
 looking warily about
 Finding holes in each other's truth
 Confronting with bantering
 De-constructing reality
 Socially, constructively
 building poetry
 Small pieces at a time, bit by bit
 believing a novel point of view
 that once was so absurd
 Finding value in me – just being
 with you
 In dialogue*

After actually doing the drama and coming together to reflect there was a very different kind of energy and a greater coming together of the participants.

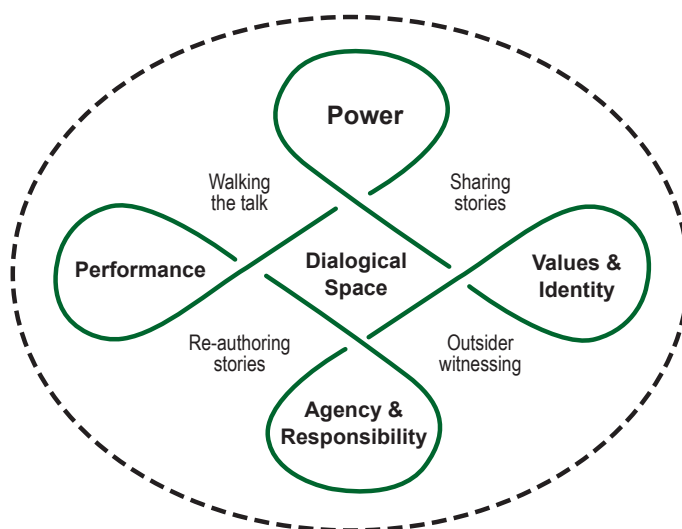
*Together in a circle
deep in sentience we sit
joining hands
our story flows creatively
Curving in and out, a dance
to find our common song
together
to feel the rhythm*

*From deep inside
it takes us, and shapes us
We move with possibility and hope
voicing a social story
that grows vibrantly
From being alone
Into community*

The linking between the narrative and reflexivity offers a synergy that connects the theory to the praxis, especially in terms of social action. This is depicted in the diagram below and offers a view of the process in action.

Figure 11.2: Narrative paradigm in reflexivity framework

Narrative paradigm in reflexivity framework



After sharing the story with the adults, a new sense of identity and agency emerged.

*Is it respect
I see in your eyes?
The beginning of trust
As you start to realise?
The circle opens
you make space for us
No longer you and me
the answer is in we*

CONCLUSION

The critical narrative reflexivity process is dynamic and iterative, and is used to explore and name issues as they appear and to create possibilities to move forward. Problems will always show up, as they tend to do, but our skills to unmask their origin and nature will improve. Creativity can help us see ourselves and each other in the world more clearly, as well as how we position ourselves in relation to any particular problem. The purpose is also to make relationships more fluid, to increase the awareness of self and others, and of our interdependence. Within a dialogical reflexive space we can imagine a future, starting here and now with what we have got. We discover what is possible and visualise a future.

We saw in the project used as an example here that demarcating a violence-free zone through painting walls and wrapping trees is not enough on its own. We have to inhabit that space, through ourselves with the help of others. Often problems take us into unknown terrain. By using creative methods and developing safe spaces we can explore the problem through a lens of critical narrative reflexivity. We can map the intentions and effects of the problem as our past and current abilities and resources. We can take a position on the map and decide the direction into which we want to move towards a vision and expressed hope. Without a map we can lose the plot, but we have to remember that the map is not the terrain.

Working with poetry from theory to research and practice unfolds through a set of relational processes that are generative in nature and become more than the sum of individual creative skills, towards which emerges collaboration.⁴⁰ In this chapter, poetry was used to bring greater

accessibility to the theory, research results and entry points towards the development of sustainable interventions.

The name of emerging problems may change, but the ability to respond to them towards a collective vision will increase over time.

*We declared
our school
a violence-free zone
Painted the walls
and wrapped a tree
bright and bold colours
for all to see
In this school
Zero tolerance
for any form of violence
that was not enough*

*We now take a stand
to make it so
Violence on violence
may help us survive
but being in peace
will help us thrive
we can do it
we can do it
we can do it collectively*

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Special thanks to the children who so willingly participated in the South Durban project and provided us with their words for the poetry. The authors would also like to acknowledge Professor Nirmala Gopal (UKZN) and Professor Steve Collings (UKZN) for their valuable contributions towards the project.

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'We can't walk alone'

Giving Voice to Children's Fears

Yvonne Sliiep, Lynn Norton and Nirmala Gopal

INTRODUCTION

Children* in South Africa face a high burden of injuries, death and disease,¹ and are exposed to high levels of violence almost on a daily basis.² Unequal opportunities and poverty, which are marked in South African communities, add to this burden and increase child vulnerability. Childhood fears are generally considered a 'normal' part of development – and even healthy and adaptive in aiding the avoidance of danger.³ However, when children are exposed to adverse surroundings that persistently make them feel unsafe and unprotected, different factors need to be considered and new questions need to be asked about our children, their childhood, and the effects of this burden they appear to carry with them daily, from home to school and back again. These questions can only be answered in part by statistics and adult observations. We need to hear what children have to say and how they feel, and we need to listen.

In 2013, a study was conducted at schools in the North West Province of South Africa, to explore and understand what makes South African adolescent children fearful and anxious in their communities. The study approached the questions of fear and anxiety in children from a child-centred perspective, to explore what children living in South African communities are most afraid of, at what level their fears are experienced, and what they believe could happen to make them feel safer.⁴ There was further interest in finding out whether children's fears were experienced differently at home, at school or in their communities, and how these three different areas of a child's life impact on or support their sense of safety – which became part of a larger project.⁵ The researchers wanted to find this out directly from children. This made it necessary to conduct the study at schools, and to ask children, using questionnaires, to respond to three primary questions:

* For the purpose of this chapter, the word 'children' includes all young people who are still at school.

- What is the scariest or most upsetting thing that has happened to you in the last year?
- How scared or upset did it make you feel?
- What do you believe could happen, or what could someone do, to make you feel safer?

The principal idea behind the project, and what made it different from many earlier studies, was the need to hear directly from children how they felt. It was important that the answers given were not influenced by adults or the researcher's own ideas about what usually makes children fearful. This entailed asking open-ended questions of the children, rather than making use of adult observation or fear survey schedules. The latter have commonly been used in the past to assess children's levels of fear, but have been questioned regarding whether they actually provide an accurate reflection of a child's daily fears.

What was made clear in the study was that children in South Africa are surrounded by violence, and they are very afraid. The most common fears of children related either to experiencing or witnessing violence personally, or to a sense of lack of safety because of the ever-present violence in their surroundings, especially gang violence. It was clear that what we used to call 'normal childhood fears' – like a fear of spiders and snakes or monsters under the bed – were taking a back seat, and that what many children of today fear are very real threats to their own safety and to the safety of those who protect them.

The results of this study also clearly indicated a need to listen even more closely to what children had to say, and to try to understand further the burden many children experience in living with real fear almost on a daily basis. We also wanted children to know that they had been heard, and to 'take back' the research to some of the participants involved, to ask for a better understanding, and to listen further. Taking back research as we envisaged involved a participatory approach to the dissemination of research results, including the participants in a dialogical process about their experiences. Dissemination is more and more considered integral to the research process and part of ethical practice. It also needs to be done in a way that is accessible to the participants – in this case children – who can then benefit from the impact of the research.⁶

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

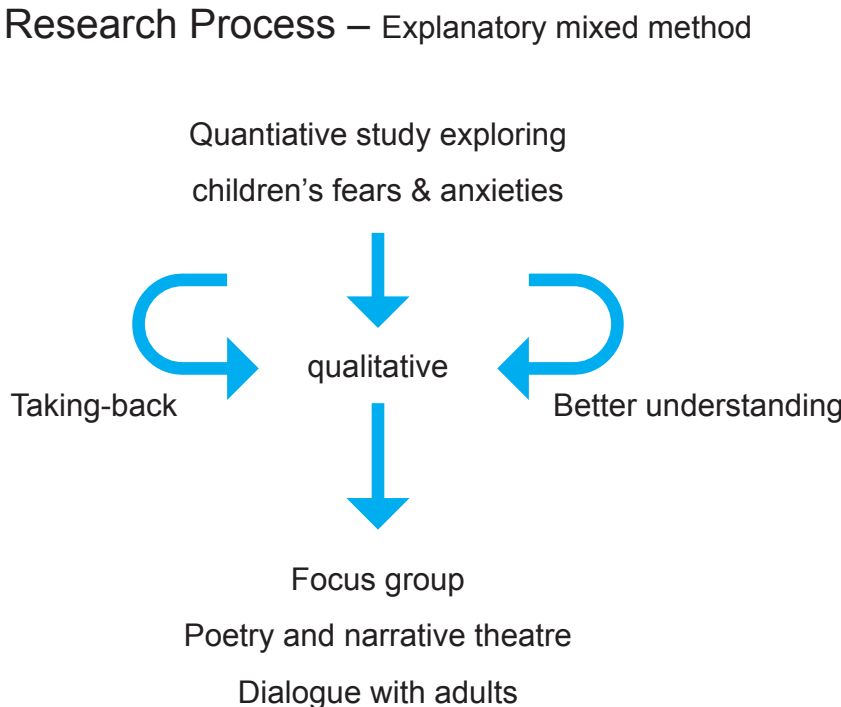
This chapter uses data drawn from the pilot study of a project that took place in a secondary school in Wentworth, part of the South Durban basin in KwaZulu-Natal (the South Durban project); and it is therefore specific to the area. Wentworth was proclaimed a 'coloured' group area during the 1960s, under the apartheid regime, and endured a process of forced removals. The community has long been characterised by high levels of violence, unemployment, substance abuse and gang warfare.⁷ Despite the need to place this research in context, the results from this study correspond closely with those of the project that took place across schools in the North West Province, in offering an overall picture of high levels of violence and fear among children in many South African communities. Further, the results formed a basis and were informative of the further work we wanted to do directly with participants from the school involved.

The focus in this chapter is to take a more in-depth look at the data, to hear what the children are saying, and to tie the statistics to the children – to bring the numbers into the community, the school and the home. We wanted to put faces to the numbers and hear what they are actually saying, and to facilitate conversations among relevant stakeholders. For this reason, we chose to start with a quantitative approach with a larger sample, and then to follow the statistics with a qualitative approach focused on a small group to enrich the data and further our understanding. Triangulation is used to 'capture a more complete, *holistic*, and contextual portrayal of the unit(s) under study'⁸ and, in this case, to take cognisance of the children in the study, not as objects of the research, but as subjects and persons, in a quest to better understand their experience of fear and violence in their own environment.⁹ More specifically, the research involved an explanatory mixed methods design, with the qualitative data being used to help explain and build on the figures from the initial quantitative study.¹⁰

The first step in the process involved analysing the data from the questionnaires in the initial study, using systematic content analysis and looking particularly at the frequency of different types of stressful events, the levels of fear experienced by children and the various types of possible solutions offered. The second step involved providing feedback on these findings to learners from the participating school. This was conducted in a focus group with eight learners and led to a facilitated dialogue between the learners and adults involved in the school, using poetry and narrative theatre. It became clear from the outset that children are not often heard

and would like their feelings to be known (*‘Our feelings should be known.’* – focus group participant). In revealing the results of these steps taken in the research, in participation with the learners, this is what we hope to do.

Figure 11.1: Diagram depicting the research process followed in the South Durban project



2013 Research: Statistics of violence and fear

The research is theoretically based on an ecological systems perspective, which takes into account the interactive influences of both the individual and the socio-political environment in which children develop – each affecting and being affected by the other.¹¹ The focus of this approach is to acknowledge the context in which a person develops and to take into account his or her living environment.¹² Thus, in the current context, we look not at an individual's fears, not in isolation, but as part of their relationship with their environment and consideration of home, school and community life. Bronfenbrenner's Bio-ecological Model is of particular relevance, in that it proposes that child development takes place through a reciprocal

interaction process between the child and other persons, objects and symbols in the child's 'real-life' setting. As we will see, findings indicate that participants in the study, and their levels of fear and anxiety, are clearly affected by a multiplicity of factors in their environments; and their safety and well-being needs to be approached holistically, taking into account factors that are beyond the control of the individual child, who requires a supportive environment in which to thrive.

Starting with the voice of the child further requires an inductive approach, with adolescent children (aged between 13 and 18) being asked about which events they found the scariest in the last year, the level of fear experienced and possible solutions that could make them feel safer. Each of these questions was asked in relation to each domain: home, school and community. Systematic content analysis was chosen to analyse data collected through the open-ended questions and a rating scale was used to indicate the level of fear.

In keeping with an ecological perspective, the coding procedure for analysing scary events was based on the development of categories and a coding strategy developed by Collings and Gopal¹³ and conceptualised in terms of Stevan Hobfoll's Conservation of Resources (COR) theory. In terms of this theory: people endeavour to protect, obtain or retain resources that they value; and stress (or fear and anxiety) results if there is a loss or threat of loss of these valued resources. Further, resources are valued either because they are necessary for survival (primary resources such as safety and food), or because they contribute indirectly, by increasing the chances of obtaining or protecting primary resources (secondary resources such as financial security or social support), or allow better access to secondary resources (tertiary resources such as social status or competence).¹⁴ These categories, viewed hierarchically – with the loss of primary resources resulting in the greatest level of stress – offer a useful insight into understanding children's experiences of fear, both within an ecological framework and in terms of a child's access, or lack of access, to valued or supportive resources (in Hobfoll's sense). This framework provides a clear indication of the importance of considering a child's context, and the impact it has on the nature and extent of a child's experience of fear within their own lived-in environment.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The grade levels of the 163 participants who took part in the pilot project are presented in Table 12.1. After analysis, the results of the study from all

three domains were presented on three levels: in terms of broad resource categories (primary, secondary and tertiary) (Table 12.2); then in terms of content areas within the broader categories (Table 12.3); and finally on a more detailed level, looking at specific threats within the content areas (Table 12.4).

Due to the small sample size, caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions and in interpreting patterns from the data, especially at more detailed levels. Overall findings do, however, give a strong indication that there is a preponderance of primary resource type fears experienced by participants (58 per cent). These fears were both the most common and the most intensely felt, and concern issues of survival, physical integrity, safety and well-being. This indicates a clear physical threat to the safety of children. Primary resources were followed by: secondary resources, relating to financial and interpersonal resources that are needed for the protection of primary resources (24 per cent); and then tertiary resources, involving social standing and a person's sense of competence (18 per cent).

Table 12.1: Grades from which participants were drawn

Grade	No. of participants	% of total
10	35	21
11	44	27
12	84	52

Table 12.2: Frequency and rating of fears by resource category

Resource category	Frequency		Rating	
	N	rank	M	rank
Primary resources	201	1	3.72	1
Secondary resources	85	2	3.57	2
Tertiary resources	62	3	2.56	3

Content areas within the three categories indicated that most participants experienced fear as: a result of a threat to survival/physical integrity (trauma) (40 per cent); followed by interpersonal disputes and issues (relationships) (15 per cent); under-performance/punishment (achievement and

censure) (14 per cent); and material resources (theft/damage to property) (13 per cent).

Table 12.3: Frequency and rating of fear content domains

Resource/content area	Frequency		Rating	
	N	rank	M	rank
<i>Primary</i>				
Survival/physical integrity	138	1	3.66	6
Safety/physical well-being	19	5.5	4.26	2
Material resources	44	4	3.68	5
<i>Secondary</i>				
Financial insecurity	8	8	4.17	3
Death/separation	6	9	4.28	1
Health (others)	19	5.5	3.79	4
Interpersonal disputes/issues	52	2	3.31	7
<i>Tertiary</i>				
Under-performance/punishment	48	3	2.54	9
Respect/dignity/social standing	14	7	2.64	8

On a more detailed level, the top five threats to the safety of participants related to: vicarious interpersonal trauma (witnessing a violent act); direct interpersonal trauma (experiencing a violent act); theft; ambient interpersonal trauma (awareness of violence in your surrounds); and censure (criticism, blame or punishment) (Table 12.4). These figures come alive and paint a more vivid picture of the extent of the violence surrounding learners when looking at some of the comments made by children in the question relating to fearful events:

‘People in my community are being murdered all the time.’

‘When I witnessed a boy been shot and killed. He was shot four times and died instantly.’

‘Someone pointed a gun towards me.’

‘My neighbour was shot six bullets on his head.’

‘They killed someone and they dumped him naked next to where I live.’

‘A boy was stabbed to death and was left to die by gangsters.’

Gangsterism and muggings are common in the area where the study was conducted, and the following questions arise: How do children cope with this ever-present and extreme trauma and violence? And further, are they supported in this?

Table 12.4: Frequency of common fear manifestations and scariest fear manifestations

Threat	Most common fears		Scariest Fears	
	(f)	Rank	Mean	Rank
None	43			
Interpersonal trauma (vicarious)	67	1	3.81	10
Interpersonal trauma (direct)	51	2	3.94	8
Theft	38	3	3.61	13
Interpersonal trauma (ambient)	35	4	3.26	18
Censure	30	5	2.50	15
Peer disputes	24	6	3.13	19
Health of others	19	7	3.79	11
Achievement	18	8	2.89	9
Family disputes	17	9	3.59	14
Death of significant others	15	10	4.13	6
Loss of social standing	14	11	2.64	12
Loss and separation	13	12	4.17	4
Problems with authority figures	11	13	3.27	17
Natural dangers	10	14	4.40	1
Non-interpersonal trauma	8	15	3.38	16
Imaginary/supernatural dangers	6	17	4.00	7
Damage (material resources)	6	17	4.17	4
Loss of financial resources	6	17	4.17	4
Illness/pain/injury (self)	3	19	4.33	2

Questions asked about fear in the home, school and community all render visible the presence of violence, which appears to be pervasive in the lives

of the children and which threatens their survival. In terms of Hobfoll's COR, threats to primary resources (a child's survival) will have the greatest impact on an individual. This category of fear relates to interpersonal and non-interpersonal trauma, threats to material resources needed for survival, and threats to safety and well-being, including illness, pain and injury. The high presence of such threats and risk to safety must clearly impact on a child's development and coping ability in a disruptive society, as exposure to violence has been clearly linked to psychological distress.¹⁵ Again, what we are looking at are 'real' fears, not just those imagined in an ideal childhood, and the importance of placing a child's fears in context cannot be overlooked. In violent surrounds, it seems pertinent to ask a scary question: Are real fears now becoming a part of 'normal' development and, if so, how adaptive (or maladaptive) are they? This is discussed further below.

The preponderance of primary fears experienced by children is also coupled with a high rate of fear in relation to interpersonal disputes (15 per cent, Table 12.3) and censure or punishment (14 per cent, Table 12.3). This may indicate that, despite the constant presence of danger in the lives of children, there are few supportive systems present to aid children with coping; rather, there is a lack of understanding and a perpetuation of the violence in their surrounds. This is expressed in the words of the children:

In the home:

'I am not being heard. They do not take me seriously and that upsets me.'

'They don't include me.'

'I feel like I don't belong.'

'When my father had to beat me up for someone else's fault.'

'My granny verbally abused me – and still does – to the extent of me thinking about suicide.'

'When my mother or grandfather shout at me for nothing.'

'Getting a hiding for something you did not do.'

At school:

'When my teachers made me kneel for an hour in the quad.'

'When teacher hit us when we forgot to do our homework and call u bad names.'

'Teacher embarrassed me in front of the learners and made me look like a fool.'

'I came late due to public transport problem but what made me angry was that I got into trouble.'

In the community:

‘The community beats up thieves in our community.’

‘When the community beat up a thief to death because he was trying to steal from neighbours.’

‘When they killed some men for stealing shoes from another guy.’

If we are taking a holistic approach to the well-being of children, we must ask, not only about stress and fear, but also about care and support. Are children getting the support they need to cope with the trauma that surrounds them, or are they being left alone to find their own coping mechanisms? Digging deeper, some of these questions are answered by the children as they help us understand further the effects of growing up in a violent society, in a focus group discussion whose results are summarised below.

Also relevant to these questions are the responses by children to the question of whether they believe anything could happen, or anyone could do anything, to make them feel safer. While many participants proposed specific actions in relation to their own particular fears, a large percentage of participants (57 per cent) indicated that action needs to be taken by other people or agencies, that is, they need help from adults. Of this number, only about 4 per cent were looking to their peers for support. The majority thought that the police should be playing a greater role (32 per cent), while some mentioned family members (16 per cent) and school authority figures (14 per cent). The role of the police, coupled with a high percentage of safety and security proposals (32 per cent of specific action proposed), supports the need for children to feel safer in their environments and the need for adult role-players in their lives. These results are what we have come to expect to read in similar studies.

Table 12.5: Frequency of responses relating to proposed solutions through agents or specific proposals

Responses	N	Agents (person/agent/body)	N	Specific Proposals (actions)	N
No. of responses	512	Community	22	Safety and security	51
Non-usable responses	21	Police/crime prevention	66	Health and well-being	9
Blank or no suggestion	105	Family	33	Policy/rights	3
Positive statements	21	Government	4	Other (specific to problem)	80

Usable responses	365	Peers	8	Self-action	14
		School authority	30		
		Religion	6		
		Unspecified other	39		
		Total	208	Total	157

NB: Suggestions are spread across the three domains, and some participants gave more than one suggestion.

Further, it is important to listen to the actual words of the children, to understand more deeply what they are actually saying and to highlight the fact that they are more than objects of study. There is clear recognition that: it is necessary to acknowledge children as persons with their own agency and individual voice; and that they are not all the same and experience their worlds in unique ways.¹⁶ For a proper understanding of children, we need to listen to what they have to say. The children are experiencing the fear, they are the experts of their own fear, and they have valid suggestions. By listening to the words, one can also get a sense of the feeling and experience underlying the fear. One 'sees' immediately that this is a social issue, and that community or collective involvement is required. The following words, written by participating children, indicate, in some cases, a sense of desperation or hopelessness (*'In our neighbourhood you could not do anything about it.'*), although in others there is a definite cry for help and a call for supportive systems in the community:

'Someone to look after me and defend me when I know nothing about the problem.' (Participant who was beaten by her father.)

'I think the community should come together to stop what is happening in children.'

'There should be community programmes taking action to prevent such scenes in every community.'

'The people in the community must look out for each other.'

'Everyone must be there for each other.'

'My having a meeting about fighting and to tell them we must not fight among ourselves and love our neighbours, and that we must trust our neighbours.'

Overall, the study shows that most children in this area feel afraid most

of the time – they are scared and confronted by an adult world that is full of violence. Childhood ‘fear’ and the effects of violence therefore need to be conceptualised broadly, encompassing a child’s context and resources and adversity in the environment. Children’s voices are important in this conceptualisation – they have a lot to say, yet are seldom listened to. While expected to cope in an adult world, they are still treated as children. There is a need to recognise children as people with their own agency, while remaining aware that they cannot deal with the adversity in their environments alone and still need adult support and protection.

2014 FOCUS GROUP: TAKING BACK THE RESEARCH AND CREATING VOICE

As part of an ethical process of taking the research results back to participants – and also to further our understanding of children’s perceptions of their own fears and anxiety – we arranged a focus group with a small number of participants at the school involved in the pilot project. After analysis of data, it is considered an integral part of research to return the results to participants in a way that it can be well understood. This is also done to create a dialogical space that enables the possibility of more ideas being explored. Such an approach helps researchers to include the subjects of the research ‘in a democratised process of inquiry’, which involves negotiation regarding meaning and power, reciprocity and empowerment.¹⁷ Including schoolchildren who participated in the quantitative study and making them part of further exploration was an important step in collaborative knowledge creation.

Our aim was to feed back the results in an accessible and participatory way, to facilitate hearing more of the children’s voices, and their responses to our analysis. We also wanted to create a safe space for learners to openly discuss how they felt, and to find out whether they had any ideas about what should happen next. Including children in research involves making them part of the solution. Such involvement opens up the potential for both self-growth and political agency.¹⁸

Participants were chosen from the grades involved in the research project, with two representatives selected from each of Grades 9, 10, 11 and 12, giving a total of eight participants (Table 12.6).

Table 12.6: Demographics of focus group participants

AGE	GRADE	GENDER	FIRST LANGUAGE	RACE	AREA
18	12	Male	English	Coloured	Wentworth
17	12	Male	English	Coloured	Wentworth
17	11	Male	Zulu	Black	Amanzim-toti
16	11	Male	English	Coloured	Wentworth
15	10	Female	English	Black	Lamontville
16	10	Female	English	Black	Umlazi
14	9	Male	Zulu	Black	Umlazi
14	9	Female	English	Coloured	Bluff

Feedback was given on the previous research and participants were asked to freely discuss issues they thought were important, stressing the fact that they were the experts in their own lives and that there were no right or wrong answers. We were looking for a conversation that could lead us to a better understanding.

Participants talked freely and straight away discussed the over-riding issue – gangsterism and gang violence: *‘The main thing here is gangsterism, that’s the main thing – gangsterism, drugs.’* They explained that they were unsafe as soon as they left the school. There were sometimes gangs waiting just outside the school gates, and there was no protection for them once they left.

‘Ja, once out of gate no protection.’

‘A friend of mine got stabbed.’

‘A lot of young people are dying.’

They spoke of both racial and geographic divisions, and explained that there was no choice, as you are classified in terms of your race and area.

‘it’s not about joining the gangs, you just like classified by where you live’

‘it’s not about choice ... it’s about area’

‘it’s basically about your race, all about your race’

A major problem focused on by the participants involved getting from place to place. They could not leave the school alone; they could not stay to talk to a teacher and had to leave in groups once the last bell had gone. It was too dangerous to walk alone or to be alone. In some areas, depending on where you lived, crimes such as theft, muggings, housebreaking and hijacking were also factors. This meant that learners would not walk with anything valuable and had to hide their phones. There were certain places where they could not go at all. **No freedom**, no-go areas.

'we can't go to certain places, have to stay here, in our area'

'can't go past a certain barrier'

'if bell goes must rush to leave at the same time, can't leave alone, can't stay behind and talk to a teacher, when the bell goes must rush, all at the same time'

The themes of no protection, no choice and no freedom amidst the surrounding violence all appear to accumulate in a challenge: how best to cope? Coping mechanisms are apparent in the learners' discussions of not being able to walk alone, rushing to leave school at the same time, and sometimes, *'I just hide'*. The conundrum comes when asking adults for help, or 'reporting': though seemingly the only possible or logical source of help, this often makes things worse, with participants saying they would be victimised after school. Later discussions with adults and children together highlight how problematic this can be; what adults consider a simple solution is far from simple or safe for children in a place where there are many unsafe spaces (outside the school gates, the taxi rank, on the way home, pathways to and from school), and where there is *'no protection'*.

Learning violence

There appear to be other, more dangerous coping mechanisms that arise amidst the escalating violence, including the use of drugs and alcohol and learning violence for protection.

Learning violence at school

Participants reported that children are learning about violence at a younger and younger age. They spoke of children learning the 'fighting game' and how to be gangsters, even in primary school.

'Even with the little coloured boys now think they gangsters too. I just tell them, why be a gangster, you think you one but you not. They think gangsterism is cool, but they don't really know what's happening'.

Learning violence in the community

On a broader scale, not only are children learning to fight, but many reported watching community members taking the law into their own hands. Again, another conundrum – good or bad, better or worse. For some this made them more afraid; for others it eased the fear, as the criminals could no longer harm them.

'some excited, some want to throw rocks, some very, very afraid, because you think if people can just do that and get away with it, some day they can do it to you and get away with it'

'For me I get very excited when community take law in own hands. Because when cops take criminal or rapist to jail and then the rapist bribe the cops and then they free again and rape and rape again ... I don't want them to get arrested, I want them dead'.

Learning violence at home

Mixed up in all the violence, is there anyone to talk to at home? Some participants said that parents did not listen to them – *'because as children we don't know nothing'*. They also reported learning violence in the home, with parents hitting kids without first asking what had happened:

'parents don't like to listen to the coloured children, it always leads to violence ... everything's violence with the coloured parents'

'ours (black parents) if you have a friend who smokes, you smoke, if you have a friend who does that, you do it ... they don't care if you have actually done it, I think they don't have an open mind'

'the parents shouldn't always think of violence as a solution to deal with their children'

'I think I would talk about maybe first asking, maybe like if you get into trouble, the parents must ask how did this happened, maybe if they find that, ok then that it was wrong, maybe they can do then take corporal punishment, but they don't just hit you, must first ask'

Exposure to chronic violence

In 2007, after looking at the perpetuation of violence and the effect on young people, Ward stated:

In short, current conditions in South African society seem on the one hand replete with opportunities for young people to learn violent behaviour and ways of justifying it and, on the other hand, deficient in opportunities for young people to learn non-violent ways of achieving their goals.¹⁹

This appears equally applicable in 2014. It is evident that violence and fear are present everywhere. Exposure to high levels of violence on an ongoing basis – or what is termed chronic violence – and the effect that this has on children, still does not seem to be completely understood. There are various forms of exposure to violence, which vary according to locus or mode of exposure, including direct victimisation, indirect victimisation (witnessing violence) and ambient victimisation (awareness of danger in the environment). According to Barbarin et al., indirect exposure has as much impact on a child's distress as direct violence, as a consequence of the resulting vulnerability and fear of future harm.²⁰ Further, not only observing violence, but also hearing about it, has been found to strongly affect a child's sense of overall safety.

The extent of violence voiced by participants indicates chronic exposure of various forms. In such cases, where safety is continually threatened or a child is under continual threat of harm and has a low level of social support, a child's ability to cope is greatly diminished. What about these children, their friends and peers in the school, how were they coping? Was anyone aware of the level of their distress?

In closing the focus group, and in answer to our question as to whether it was useful to sit and talk, a participant responded, *'It does if there is going to be help, to be an outcome ... like finding a way to prevent the violence that happens outside.'* It was clear that we needed to take this further, to find out more and to hear from adults as well. The participants of the focus group agreed on the need to meet with adults to voice their concerns.

POETRY, PREPARATION AND NARRATIVE THEATRE

Our analysis of the data from the focus group was both reflexive and inductive. Transcribed notes were analysed, paying close attention to what stood out, to get a sense of the participant's perceptions. We identified and summarised major themes and then worked reflexively and creatively with the material, using the participants' own words and expressions to create poetry. This revealed expressions of emotion and further exposed and identified underlying themes, while at the same time giving rise to another,

deeper level of understanding. This process of digging deeper and looking for layers of meaning and experiences expressed by children shares the same philosophical underpinnings regarded as fundamental in interpretative poetics: 'that knowledge is relational, understanding is largely metaphorical, the mind operates through a dynamic unconscious, and interpretations are inherently embodied'.²¹ It also recognises, therefore, that there are multiple meanings and layers beyond the themes highlighted here.

Poetic inquiry as methodology is explored and discussed in the previous chapter. Here we look more closely at the results of the focus group and what was said by the participating children, acknowledging that there are other potential interpretations but staying as close as possible to what was actually voiced. The patterns and main themes that emerged for us were those of violence, fear carried around everywhere (like a school bag), and the need for survival – learning violence to survive, and as a response to the fear. These themes were coupled with a need to be heard and considered, and a need to be safe, secure and protected.

Some of the poems created from the words of the children in the focus group can also be found in the preceding chapter. A deeper reading of the words of the children, and the initial writing of poems by the researchers, revealed another layer of meaning, as we reflected between on what we were hearing. Much of the 'bad' behaviour – drinking, smoking and joining gangs – was not about choice, it was about survival; and children were learning violence at every turn – from family, community members and peers.

To facilitate a participative and interactive dialogue around the results of the research and focus group findings, a narrative theatre strategy was chosen, using short dramas based on the poetry and envisioned by the learners, in preparation for giving visibility and voice regarding their concerns to adults. Narrative theatre, as an approach to take back research to participants and relevant stakeholders, works, not only to facilitate dialogue, but also to help deconstruct and externalise factors of concern – in this case, fear and violence. This opens a space for knowledge co-construction and the emergence of solutions from within the group, leading to an increased sense of agency. The learners were shown the poetry, but encouraged to use what spoke to them most loudly and then to construct a story on what could have happened to them or someone their age, in real life – to show and tell adults what the issues are. This led to a further focus group discussion with two teachers, two parents and six learners, which took place after the adults watched the dramas and were asked to reflect on how they felt, what they thought and what they could do. While most dramas were based on the

researchers' poems, one – a spontaneous piece on teenage pregnancy – was scripted completely by the learners.

The use of drama allowed the children to perform and to 'speak' openly to the adults, and also allowed space for the adults to reflect on their own thoughts and emotions. Some of the adults commented specifically on the effect of the use of drama on their own insights and feelings:

Teacher: *'I can actually feel that fear and anger'*

Teacher: *'Maybe that's where I am not as sensitive as I should be, because when I was looking at that, I had the thought that, um, maybe sometimes young people might say things which they know will get them attention, which aren't necessarily as scary as they (portray?), ja, ja, but then once again maybe that's me and my insensitivity'*

Teacher: *'I would say that having it dramatised makes it more apparent'*

Teacher: *'... we have had experiences reported to us before like this, so it's nice to have it dramatised – one feels it more'*

Learners also appeared to experience the dramas as a safe and visible way of expressing their concerns.

Learner: *'... some parents and teachers don't know how we feel inside, but made it more visible when we acted it ...'*

Learner: *'For me, I feel good about doing this play, because teachers and parents are more aware of what we go through every day and they can help us ...'*

Circular dialogues: adult reflections and conversations with learners

The dramas were followed by a focus discussion, started first by the adults, based on the reflections and thoughts that they had written down between watching the dramas, while the learners listened. This in turn was followed by: a conversation between the learners, while the adults listened; and, finally, a short conversation between all participants.

A discussion has been described as a ping-pong game, in which those involved have different points of view and the ideas are batted back and forth, the object being to get your views across, to get points, and, often, to win.²² Some of the ping-pong is evident in the conversations that took

place, for example with adults giving their views and learners saying, *'It's like that but not completely, this is what it is really like'*. What became apparent, even in this small group of ten participants and in a short space of time, was that the reflexive methodology used – which is discussed in detail in the preceding chapter – was allowing for what Brohm terms a dialogue (as opposed to a discussion) to begin to emerge. He describes a dialogue as, 'a flow of meaning through two or more individuals as a collective, and out of which may emerge new understandings'.²³ What is required in circumstances where marginalised voices need to be heard properly is not just space for them to speak and to have a discussion, but a space where they are able to speak and their opinions will be valued, so that a new shared meaning about their experience can start to grow.

Various themes emerged from these conversations, which allowed learners the chance to 'answer back' in a safe environment and also to really express or show how fear is felt and plays out in their lives. 'Witnessing' is a valuable narrative principle that facilitates growth and change. From this perspective, 'new stories take hold only when there is an audience to appreciate them'.²⁴ To take this even further, the social orientation of narrative marks a move away from individual approaches toward the importance of relationship. 'Unless we exist in the eyes of others, we may come to doubt even our own existence'.²⁵ An audience – for example teachers or parents in this case – can offer acknowledgement of children's views. If someone does not feel heard, it is difficult to move on. Once the children felt they had been heard in the focus group, they felt more free to express themselves in the dramas, going beyond the original scripts and even acting out a new drama relating to teen pregnancy. Being heard by others could therefore act as a motivator for further exploration and action. The themes and 'safe arguments' expressed by the participants are presented below.

Increased awareness

The adults knew about the violence, but didn't know just how much violence there was, how much of a burden this was for the learners, and the extent of its effect on their lives. The teachers said that they were aware of what happens in school, but not outside. The dramas enabled them to feel the anger and fear more easily and so increased their awareness at a deeper level. One of the learners explained, *'Some teachers aren't really aware of how frequently stuff happens, like on the streets, because like often, way too often, especially over the weekends'*. It appears that the impact of this had not been well understood by the adults.

Teacher: *'I'm just ... I'm just shocked. I must be honest that if you take these lines (in the poetry) from different responses that you had with them, there's so much going on that I'm not aware of. Unless you have an incident in the classroom, or hear of it in the grounds, you think it's just that little incident here and there; but these children are living it daily'.*

Teacher: *'I always knew it was going on, I did know it was going on, right down to the pregnancy one; but I suppose I'm more aware of it because I didn't realise it was that much. You know, I don't live in the community. And I'm not aware of the everyday life – what goes on after school. I'm only in contact with them at school'.*

Teacher: *'If we have ten incidents a year then ... we are thinking there's not that much violence going on in the school, but we don't realise these children are living it every day'.*

Teacher: *'But I am aware of the fear, like what bullying does, and concerns... but it's one of those things which you like stick in the back of your head ...'*

Teacher: *'... what we hear about is only what's going on in the school. We hear about something that spilled over from the weekend, but we don't really get much of that, well not much of that comes to my attention.'*

Children are coping alone and need adults to help

The increased awareness was coupled with recognition of children being forced to develop coping mechanisms on their own to keep themselves safe, and of a need for adults to help.

Teacher: *'I was thinking how children are forced to cope with their situations. If there's a problem with walking to school or going to be some trouble along the way, they know they mustn't dilly-dally at school, they must get their things as quickly as possible. So that's their coping mechanism, if they're not the fighting type – so they try and avoid the situation'.*

Parent: *'... why must the children fear? So we should think about how to deal with it ...'*

Adult help is needed, but on the kids' terms

In searching for solutions, and perhaps subconsciously as a way to keep the responsibility with the children, adults stressed the need for learners to

report things to the adults.

Parent: *'And also it's good for children, when you see something wrong, to report it, don't keep it to yourself and walk away ... to report it, there's always someone ... and that can also avoid trouble, can avoid fights.'*

Parent: *'Also if there is anyone bullying anybody, report it, nobody needs to be in that situation.'*

However, the learners disagreed, as they revealed that reporting on others can result in further victimisation, especially after school. There was a clear sense that learners would like adults to help, but needed them to do so on their terms and with an understanding of how best to offer help. This came out both in the earlier focus group and in these later conversations. One cannot be seen to be reporting on one's peers, which leaves learners with even less options and shows the complexity of the situation – trouble if you report, trouble if you don't. Further, teachers could not always be around to protect them – the problem is bigger than one of school discipline, and spills into their outside lives.

Learner: *'... so you can't report it... so if you move out of school they going to catch you ... and that really makes it hard to go to school.'*

Learner: *'That's the problem, they just catch you after school. If you tell a teacher and the teacher will tell a child that so-and-so told me you did this and that, that's the problem. That's why we don't tell the teacher, because they just say it loud – she told me, he told me this, that's the problem. If they can just keep it as a secret then it will be better.'*

Learner: *'... the teachers also need to go home ...'*

Seeing the whole picture

The adults were largely of the view that there is a lack of safety on the streets, rather than at school, and therefore it was not such a problem in the school setting.

Parent: *'But I think that there's fears on the streets, it's not really at school, because what they dramatise here is more of street life, it's not really at school. Being from the community, on the streets, it's what you pick up on the road, you see this incident, that incident ...'*

In line with learner's explanations on the problems with reporting something at school and then being victimised after school, the learners were clear that although they may be safer at school, what happens outside school affects them inside the school as well. It became apparent that it is not possible to separate school (with a gate, fence and security for a few hours of the day) from the home and community, all of which form part of a child's life. It became clear that you cannot switch your fear on and off.

Learner: *'I agree ... school, I think, is safer than outside, like here, nothing really happened here. On the streets, anything can happen on the road ... all wronged up and on drugs.'*

Learner: *'I think that ... much of the crime happens out of school, but as it happens out of school it does still affect the learners when they in school. Because, if something happens to me while I am coming to school, I am going to come with anger to school.'*

Learner: *'I would say like in this school nothing really happened but (mentions other schools) ... that's where it gets bad. Like for instance, this one boy had acid thrown on his face ... so it can happen in school and outside, because it comes from outside into school. If you are a gangster outside, you have to be a gangster inside too.'*

Further, although the violence was less, there were also dangers within the school that teachers were unaware of, including the use of alcohol and drugs.

Learner: *'For me, I heard all the parents and teachers saying that school is safer than outside, but sometimes it happens in school that girls and boys fight for nothing, and they get hit and slap each other and swear ... and I just want to say that in school, yes we are safe, but not that much safer, because anything can happen ...'*

Although the increased security at the school seemed to have improved the situation on the school grounds, the dangers were not far away. Just outside the school gates and at the nearby taxi rank, where many pupils have to go to get home, there appears to be no protection at all and no supervising adults present.

Learner: *'Most of the children, when they go down the road to the rank at the bottom, there's no protection there ... there's no protection at all over there, anything can happen to you'*

The importance of voice: talking and listening

It was apparent from the discussions that learners do think it is necessary to be heard and to talk. One of the learners said in the final discussion that this should *'be known by everyone'*, and again stressed the importance of being able to talk about what is happening. This was also recognised by the adults.

Parent: *'I said these children are having problems at home, they should have someone to talk to and maybe get to the bottom of this.'*

Learner: *'... we have a lot of drop-outs ... most of the time ... it's because a child may have a lot of issues in their life; there's a lot of contributing factors as to why they have issues, and sometimes when someone is experiencing something, they don't have anyone to talk to and they feel all alone; sometimes that can also lead to suicide, and sometimes if they don't have motivation, why should I carry on ... why should I just carry on ...'*

PROCESS AND PAINTING A PICTURE

The process used in this research has enabled the figures to come alive and paint a rich picture of the effects of violence on children's perceptions of fear.

Teacher: *'This has opened my eyes to the high incidence of violence amongst our youth and the issues they face on a daily basis.'*

Adding qualitative data, adding the voices of children, is like adding colours to a black and white picture: it gives the picture texture and depth. Now that we have the richer picture, questions arise regarding the transformative nature of the process. Is it transformative, has it possibly been therapeutic in any way?

Although the intention here was to do research, to find out more and understand better, and not to do an intervention, the process started serving as such. Future recommendations would therefore include going back after a period and finding out what happened next. Did anything come out

of the workshop? Did participants feel more empowered, and was there an increased sense of agency? These and other questions relating to the methodology were further examined in the previous chapter. However, the picture painted so far is still extremely complex and asks its own questions.

PICTURE OF A CHILDHOOD DISORDERED

The resulting picture that is painted from what the children are saying is one of a childhood disordered – tangled and chaotic. They are constantly negotiating their daily fears and trying to survive. Despite this, they are still expected to be well-behaved, ‘normal kids’, and their exposure to adversity and chronic violence appears to have become so commonplace that the risks of growing up in such circumstances are largely being ignored. Yet, a large amount of research points to the fact that exposure to violence affects children of all ages, and, in South Africa, clear links have been found between exposure to violence and psychological distress in children. Individual consequences are wide-ranging and include physical, mental and emotional injury. Exposure to such adversity has both negative social and developmental consequences for children, including the possibility of psychological, cognitive and social impairment.²⁶

The wide range of harmful and potentially damaging outcomes include: an increased risk of post-traumatic stress disorder; depression; anxiety; unwanted pregnancy; increased risk of sexually transmitted infections and HIV infection; alcohol abuse and drug dependency; suicidality; and other anti-social and violent behaviour. Poor academic performance and social development, as well as other behavioural disorders, can also become apparent and can affect the ability of children to function optimally in school and socially. A child’s coping skills may then involve aggression, chronic worry and anxiety, or pretending not to care, all of which affect their relationships with peers and adults such as parents and teachers. Further, concerns regarding re-victimisation and poly-victimisation mean that children who are exposed to abuse may be at increased risk of being victimised again.²⁷ There may also be an increased risk of children who have been victimised becoming perpetrators themselves, or developing psycho-pathological disorders that are often exhibited through displays of violence in the community, like gang involvement.

SHARING STORIES OF VIOLENT LIVES

The violence in the lives of children is apparent, both from the statistics provided in this chapter and from the words of the children, as well as from much past research. As already stated, children themselves have highlighted the problem of violence and gangsterism, and of learning violence at a very young age. What is important here – and about listening to what children have to say – is their belief that there is 'no choice' in the matter. This is not what the children have chosen; it is where they live and it is what they have been given; it is their world, and they are trying to survive as best they can. It appears that many children really are walking alone, with no one to talk to. Being able to share their stories with adults could provide both acknowledgement of their experience and the opportunity for adults to ask the right questions and work together with children to create pathways of choice.

There is increased attention on the importance of listening to children's views, understanding their priorities and how they interpret their worlds, and empowering them by actively including them in research that concerns them.²⁸ This is in keeping with the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which makes provision for the views of children to be heard. Article 7 states:

Every child who is capable of communicating his or her own views shall be assured the rights to express his opinions freely in all matters and to disseminate his opinions subject to such restrictions as are prescribed by laws.²⁹

Further, Section 10 of the South African Children's Act also states:

Every child that is of such an age, maturity and stage of development as to be able to participate in any matter concerning the child has the right to participate in an appropriate way and views expressed by the child must be given consideration'.³⁰

Studies have shown that adult perceptions of children are not always accurate, and this is also apparent here. Adults, in many cases, 'have an idea' about what's happening, but they cannot correctly and accurately reflect the depths of children's experiences or feelings. Amidst the complexity surrounding children's fears and anxieties, there appears to be one fairly simple thing at least: children are the experts regarding their own lives – if you want to know how they feel, you need to ask them. Conditions could be

created that enable children to speak out more. Ways in which this could be done have been explored in the preceding chapter of this book.

CONCLUSION: WHAT IS GOING TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

This chapter has highlighted the importance of involving children in research and making their voices heard. The difference this can make is twofold. Firstly, adults (including researchers) are able to get a better and more accurate picture of what is happening to children, so that they can instigate action that is relevant. Secondly, the children involved in the process are empowered through their own reflection on their experiences and the expression that they give to this – the attainment of voice.

Involving participants in research, or participatory action research, is believed to lead to action as it motivates those directly involved. The inclusion of children, as agents, in this research may still be part of a first step towards future action (*a motivator*), but it is clearly also an acknowledgement of the child's right to be heard and the crucial role children have to play in building safer and more peaceful childhoods.

We recognise also that this process is about more than just words. When the children express their knowledge of violence as a lived, embodied experience, it contributes to further meaning-making for themselves and others, which, in turn, leads to further co-construction of knowledge. Here the children move from being passive recipients of knowledge in the formal education system to being active participants in knowledge-making – in this case regarding violence in relation to peace. If this is named to the children, it contributes to identity formation. It enables them to move from an identity of helplessness and hopelessness to one of taking agency. How we talk about our experience reveals how we see ourselves and others, and these perceptions can change in the retelling and performance. Creating safe spaces for real dialogue can make a difference.

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PART IV

DESIGNING FOR PEACE EDUCATION





Mainstreaming Peace Education in the University Curriculum

Assumptions, Approaches and Achievements of this Model in Zimbabwe

Martha Mutisi

INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe has had several brushes with conflict since the colonial era. In the nineteenth century, the Pioneer Column led by Cecil John Rhodes settled in Zimbabwe, thereby beginning the process of colonisation of the country. Colonial rule came to an end in 1980, when Zimbabwe attained independence from the British government. The post-independence euphoria lasted for close to two decades, until Zimbabwe was confronted with socio-economic challenges which culminated in one of the most spoken about periods of political turmoil. From 2000 to 2008, Zimbabwe struggled with a host of challenges, including declining living standards, political violence, electoral disputes and decimated social cohesion. It is against this background that a programme on peace education was introduced in Zimbabwe, focusing on local universities.

The objective of this chapter is to examine how universities in Zimbabwe have been promoting peace, security and development through their various forms of peace education. The chapter discusses the process of mainstreaming peace education in the university curriculum, and the subsequent approaches that were undertaken to operationalise the peace education curriculum.

Universities in Zimbabwe have operationalised the peace education curriculum by using different, dynamic and multi-faceted approaches, with some offering a required core course in Peace Education, while others offer a stand-alone degree and yet others offer short-term training programmes. The Peace Education programme in Zimbabwean universities has been implemented for more than a decade now, and this chapter seeks to analyse the trajectory which was followed in this model. The chapter posits that a variety of interdisciplinary approaches – such as peace studies, conflict resolution, citizenship education and leadership development – being offered

by the different universities will ultimately and cumulatively present the opportunity for promoting conditions of sustainable peace in Zimbabwe.

BACKGROUND

There has been increased recognition that education has an explicit role to play in promoting peace and sustainable development. Education, in particular that which focuses on promoting non-violence and peace, has the potential to prevent the outbreak of further violence and to manage conflict, which is an inevitable occurrence. Peace education operates differently in various global contexts. This chapter examines a particularly unique case of peace education at the tertiary level, wherein a university played the central role of organising and synchronising programme activities.

The Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance (IPLG) at Africa University launched the Peace and Leadership Education Program for Zimbabwean Universities in 2003. Coordinated by Africa University, which started offering a Masters in Peace and Governance in the same year, the programme was aimed at mainstreaming peace education into the higher education curriculum. Currently, 12 universities are participating in this programme.

From its launch, the Peace and Leadership Education Program has targeted university administrators, lecturers and researchers to develop curricula for peace and leadership education, and to design course content as well as strategies for teaching the courses in this area. The IPLG has implemented the programme in collaborative partnership with initiatives such as the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) project on Developing Capacity for Negotiation Skills and Conflict Transformation and the Department for International Development's (DFID) Development Partnerships in Higher Education (DePHE) project. With partners including Bradford University (United Kingdom) and the University for Peace Africa Programme (Ethiopia), Africa University instituted a six-year project on *Mainstreaming Peace and Leadership Education in Zimbabwean Universities*. In practice, the project emphasised the peace education dimension more than the leadership component, hence the focus of this paper.

PEACE EDUCATION: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To understand the concept of peace education, it is important to start with a conceptualisation of education. A robust literature exists that defines education. Paulo Freire, whose work in the 1980s focused on pedagogy and learning in Latin America, defines education as the processing of experience, particularly critical reflection of experience, which allows for learning to move into application to life and action.¹

Tierney conceives of education as a public good, a critical ingredient for the well-being of states.² Recognising education both as a right and an imperative for societal advancement, Joseph Stiglitz takes this argument further, positing that knowledge is a public good and that restricting knowledge leads to inefficiency – a slower pace of innovation.³ Using a human agency perspective, Willmott views education systems as socially constructed organisations that influence the interaction between structures and agents.⁴ Rizvi and Lingard postulate that education is central to human capital formation. Indeed, there is consensus by scholars, policy makers and development practitioners that education's fundamental role is to assist efforts towards economic and political development.⁵

Education, particularly tertiary-level education, has been known not only to impart skills to learners, but also to be a vehicle for social transformation and social justice.⁶ At the individual level, recipients of education benefit severally, for example by gaining a range of social, linguistic and inter-cultural management skills, in addition to increasing networks, collaborative activities and mutual learning. Niyibizi further observes that education has the potential to '... instil community values, promote justice and respect for human rights, enhance peace, stability and interdependence'.⁷ Specifically, Tierney views education as empowering individuals to play a role towards enhancing public welfare in society.⁸

Paying specific attention to the role of higher education, Ghani and Lockhart conclude that higher education imparts skills which will nurture citizens to support 'the development of the economy and polity'.⁹ In apparent agreement with the developmental element of higher education, Castells views universities as 'fundamental tools of development' which facilitate innovation in society through mechanisms such as technology transfer and economic development.¹⁰ Marginson particularly views higher education as 'a fecund site for global association, in that, like business transactions, it creates "bridging" type networks not just with kinship, locality and other natural affinity groups, but also with erstwhile strangers'.¹¹

Nakamura posits that the kernel of education is to create peace-loving

citizens, especially in the contemporary world, which is beset with the reality of globalisation.¹² Education has been recognised as a vehicle for the prevention of conflicts and a conduit for sustainable development. Admittedly, education not only allows learners to fulfil basic tasks, but also imparts in them the necessary life skills for addressing inevitable processes such as living peacefully with others and addressing disputes amicably as well as responding to conflict non-violently. While education has been identified as empowering and emancipating, it can also be politicised. In fact, some scholars caution about the danger of education being used for control purposes, as well as to pursue inimical goals such as fuelling social divisions, spreading hatred and catalysing violence. Smith and Vaux discuss how, for example, during the apartheid era in South Africa, education was segregated and served to reinforce existing inequalities between races.¹³ As such, Smith points out that education is also a 'powerful tool for ideological development',¹⁴ while Castells discusses how universities in particular,

have always been mechanisms of selection of dominant elites, including in such mechanisms, beyond selection in the strict sense, the socialization process of these elites, the formation of the networks for their cohesion, and the establishment of codes of distinction between these elites and the rest of society.¹⁵

This is why Freire emphasised that education should play a role not only in developing and nurturing a questioning attitude towards the violence of the *status quo*, but also in presenting alternatives to that violence.¹⁶ For this questioning attitude to be fully nurtured, Freire underlines that there is need for a democratic space between learners and educators.¹⁷

PEACE EDUCATION: A CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION AND THEORIES OF CHANGE

The term 'peace' is not only value-laden, but is also viewed by sceptics as an ideal and immeasurable. Instead of attempting to define this concept, therefore, some scholars have chosen to focus on what peace is not. Although defining peace is a lofty goal, several authors have tried to come up with the meaning of this nebulous concept. Nakamura underscores that peace is not static, but is continually being explored and built, and that a culture of peace therefore 'needs to be nurtured with others'.¹⁸ Using the positive peace thesis, Galtung identifies the conditions that prevail, when a peaceful

state is maintained and promoted, as including upholding of human rights, and the existence of equality as well as the exercise of freedom.¹⁹ Similarly, Boulding notes how encompassing peace should be, underlining that peace is found in the whole ecology of social relationships, which are located at individual, organisation, community, national and global levels.²⁰ According to Harris, peace is a context-specific concept which has different meanings within different cultures, as well as various connotations for the spheres in which peaceful processes are applied.²¹

As a result of the complexity of defining peace, there have also been reservations about the concept and practice of peace education. Nonetheless, peace education can be described as the process of obtaining knowledge and understanding about peace, which essentially includes questions about factors that contribute to peace as well as challenges in attaining it. In essence, therefore, peace education involves the acquisition of skills, attitudes, values and knowledge to contribute to peace; and learners in peace education gain knowledge about dealing with conflicts without the recourse to violence. Peace education is a multidisciplinary subject that may involve fields such as economics, history, political science, sociology, biology, international relations, law and mathematics, among others.

Ardizzone traces the evolution of peace education as a field of study, and postulates that it originally emerged as a discipline focusing on the causes of war as well as its prevention.²² However, peace education has since evolved into studying all forms of violence. The focus is not necessarily to prevent war, but the creation of a peace system by dealing with violence at global, ecological, community and personal levels. Peace education further recognises the relationship between the self, community and world, acknowledging the links between the personal and the political. Harris characterises peace education as having five main postulates:

- i. It explains the roots of violence;
- ii. It teaches alternatives to violence;
- iii. It adjusts to cover different forms of violence;
- iv. Peace itself is a process that varies according to context; and
- v. Conflict is omnipresent.²³

However, some scholars are well aware of the challenges of peace education. Some are sceptical of the notion of peace education, mostly because of the seeming emphasis on something which is considered an ideal. Salamon identifies the challenges of peace education, which include the difficulties of spreading the messages of peace from the curriculum into the wider

society.²⁴ Such reservations can be credited for the abundance of strands of peace education, as practitioners and scholars of different persuasions attempt to come up with different strategies for peace.

Notwithstanding these eclectic forms, peace education is distinct from other forms of education, including human rights education, development education, non-violence education and conflict resolution education, among others. The area of commonality is that all these forms of education mutually attempt to explain different forms of violence and provide information about alternatives to violence. Synott underscores that proponents of peace education emphasise the 'notions of nonviolent individuals and whole societies',²⁵ hence Shapiro's conclusion that peace education focuses on 'educating against violence'.²⁶ Against this background, Harris conceives peace education as the act of 'teaching about peace: what it is, why it does not exist and how to achieve it'.²⁷

Peace education is based on the assumption that human behaviour towards violence can be shifted through education. Harris observes that peace education is designed to counteract 'horrific forms of violence, like ecocide, genocide, modern warfare, ethnic hatred, racism, sexual abuse, domestic violence'.²⁸ Ultimately, several peace education programmes are conceived with the expectation that they will cultivate a culture of peaceful coexistence. Apart from scholars, international practitioners, policy-makers, analysts and advocates alike increasingly acknowledge the fundamental role of peace education in transcending cultures of violence and in building a multi-dimensional culture of peace. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Charter solidifies this conviction by declaring that, 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.²⁹ The UNESCO Charter preamble further asserts that

a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.³⁰

Peace educators teach their learners about peace processes such as negotiation, reconciliation, interfaith dialogue, multicultural communication and non-violence as approaches to reduce levels of violence and the impact of violent conflict. There are different faces and strategies of peace education

depending on the social contexts as well as the scholarly persuasion of peace educators.

The various branches of peace education are characterised by different goals, theoretical assumptions and theories of change, and ultimately employ differing strategies for attaining goals. For example, peace education scholars who use Johan Galtung's structural violence theory will distinguish between 'negative peace' and 'positive peace'.³¹ They will contend that violent conflict is an expression of structural inequalities and inimical arrangements in society, and are more likely to employ a development-oriented approach to peace education, underscoring different strategies to address problems such as poverty, unemployment and limited political participation. Peace educators from the sociological persuasion will focus on demystifying cultural norms that legitimise violence. Psychologists will be concerned with the micro-level conflicts, and will therefore adopt person-centred approaches to peace education, including enhancing interpersonal communication skills as a way of managing conflicts. Despite the existence of various perspectives, peace education is roundly concerned with the risk of using violence as a way of addressing conflict. This thinking is succinctly summarised by Reardon, who asserts that peace education facilitates

... learning that will enable people to understand that war and other forms of physical, economic, political, ecological and gender violence are not on the same order as natural disasters. These are not inevitable eventualities to be prepared for; these are the consequences of human will and intent, and can be avoided, even eliminated entirely, if human will and intent so desire.³²

In this chapter, peace education is analysed using the conceptual framework of multi-track diplomacy which was developed by Diamond and McDonald.³³ Multi-track diplomacy is actually a systems approach towards the analysis of peacemaking activities, since it underscores the interconnected activities of individuals, institutions, and communities working together to achieve the common goal of achieving and maintaining peace. Multi-track diplomacy identifies several 'tracks', which include individuals and institutions from various backgrounds that contribute to peace. For example, Track I consists of political and military actors, and Track II of experts in peacebuilding and mediation, while Track III comprises the economic actors in peacebuilding, including the private sector. Track IV hosts private citizens who are known for their peacebuilding or peacemaking activities (people like Archbishop Desmond Tutu would fit this description). Universities, research and training centres are located in Track V.

PEACE EDUCATION IN AFRICA

In extant literature, it is agreed that, historically, peace education emerged following the impact of World War I, as European and American scholars and activists highlighted the risk of modern warfare. They were concerned with the nineteenth-century obsession with unilateralism, and lobbied their governments against the use of warfare. Ultimately, peace education advocated the need for international institutions that would safeguard peace and security, hence the formation of the League of Nations, and later the United Nations.

The word 'peace' has been repeatedly used in the Charter of the United Nations, which calls for the promotion of understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial and religious groups. The preamble of the UN Charter seeks to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind,' among other goals. Since then, peace education is increasingly being presented as a vehicle for societal transformation, for addressing the various challenges of the day. In fact, peace education is now a recognised approach towards for the pursuit of global peace, security and development. During the 44th session of the international Conference on Education, held in Geneva in 1994 and coordinated by UNESCO, the Ministers of Education from across the globe adopted a resolution for peace education.³⁴ In similar vein, the international community adopted a stance towards embracing peace education through the Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the Twenty-first Century, which was adopted in 1999 and which called for the abolition of war.

In Africa, the spirit of peace education is arguably epitomised by the concept of *Ubuntu*, whose foundation lies on endogenous epistemologies that emphasise a common humanity. The concept of *Ubuntu* underscores the importance of doing good to others and the community since our humanity is inextricably intertwined. While peace education has always existed in traditional African societies, values of peace education were further espoused and popularised by renowned political and religious leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, Kwame Nkrumah and Desmond Tutu, among others. For example, both Kwame Nkrumah and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, who are considered icons of Africa's liberation, emphasised cooperation and self-reliance among Africans if the continent's stride toward total emancipation was to be realised.

Across Africa, there are fledgling efforts towards mainstreaming peace education into the education system. From the desk research and online

browsing that the author undertook, it appears that most peace education programmes have become consolidated in East Africa, and to an extent in Southern Africa. In Uganda, tertiary institutions such as Makerere University and Gulu University offer undergraduate degrees and courses that are specific to peace and conflict. In Rwanda, peace education is taught at primary and secondary level through a course called Civics Education and Moral Ethics. At tertiary level, the National University of Rwanda's Centre for Conflict Management conducts research on peace-related issues, apart from offering courses in peace and conflict studies.

In Kenya, following the post-election violence, the government, through the Ministry of Education, began efforts towards engendering peace education in the curriculum. At tertiary level, the University of Nairobi offers a Master's in Peace Education. The University of Nairobi website underscores that 'the development of this programme was motivated by the need to address peace and human security challenges in the region'.³⁵ In addition, there is work being done by non-governmental organisations on peace education, such as the Coalition for Peace in Africa (COPA) and the Nairobi Peace Initiative – Africa (NPI-Africa), which engage in several initiatives in capacity building, advocacy, training, research and documentation for peace education.

These examples demonstrate that peace education is needed to respond to current challenges that many African countries are going through, including the challenge of challenges: state building and economic renewal. Although the 2008 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UN-ECA) report indicates significant economic growth for Africa, some African countries are undergoing overt structural conflict, experiencing political and socio-economic instability or struggling with governance. Against this background, the role of peace education cannot be overemphasised.

THE CONTEXT OF PEACE EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

Evolution of tertiary education in Zimbabwe

Education in colonial Zimbabwe was characterised by unequal access between white and black communities. In addition, colonial education focused not on the development of the local population, but on producing a populace which could continue to respond to the labour force needs of the colonial empire. As such, colonial education for blacks was characterised by an emphasis on vocational skills such as carpentry and construction. As a result, the early days of newly independent Zimbabwe reflected this colonial legacy

of a broader participation of blacks in primary education and a narrower representation of the same population in tertiary education.

Naturally, one of the major policy decisions taken at independence was to increase access in education. Having gained independence from Britain in 1980, the newly independent Zimbabwean state commenced its operation by launching a nation-wide restructuring of education. In addition, the government, led by the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF), abolished the racist and separatist education system which was characteristic of the colonial era.³⁶ The Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education made substantial efforts to develop education to be more responsive to the different economic, social and cultural needs of the country. The early days of independent Zimbabwe were characterised by the adoption of the ‘education for all’ policy by the government. Then, education was conceived as a public good and the state embraced its role of funding primary education and tertiary education.

In 1980, there was only one university, namely the University of Zimbabwe, plus five teachers colleges and two polytechnics. By 1990, the number of teachers colleges had increased to 14 and that of technical colleges to eight, and two vocational training centres (VTCs) had been established, but there existed still only one University. However, tertiary education was fully funded by the government and, during this period, university students had access to government grants and loans for tuition fees and educational supplies. In 1991, the second state-funded university was established in Bulawayo, namely the National University of Science and Technology (NUST), which is the second largest university in the country. By 1995, Zimbabwe had witnessed a period of rapid expansion of the higher education system. By 2010, the country boasted of 13 universities, of which 3 are private institutions: Africa University, Solusi University and Catholic University. Banya argues for the development of private universities as one way of alleviating the burden on central government to provide education.³⁷

While these milestones in Zimbabwe’s post-independent education system were recorded, hard times lay ahead. The late 1990s witnessed the beginning of the downward spiral of Zimbabwe’s economy. The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) introduced by the World Bank in Zimbabwe in 1991 was accompanied by austerity measures such as a reduction in social service provision by the government. ESAP affected local industries and led to a decrease in real wages as well as a decline in economic growth, which meant that the government began to struggle to provide all the funding required in higher education. As a consequence, by

the late 1990s government's budgetary allocation to the higher education sector declined drastically.

Post-2000, higher education became a heavy burden to the government, whose fiscal pocket for education had shrunk as a result of these neoliberal dictates. Universities became more expensive to operate, even as there was need for an expanded infrastructural base to accommodate the expanding student enrolment. As the burden of financing higher education (and education in general) burgeoned, the government had to consider alternative ways of funding, and a new policy of charging tuition fees was therefore introduced in 2001.

Whereas, during the early days of post-independent Zimbabwe, university education was primarily offered by state institutions, university education in the country has broadened to include private and religious institutions as providers of higher education. With the reduction in public fiscal support for higher education, the quality of education as well as the standards of living for student and staff were negatively affected. Consequently, from the mid-1990s, universities and other tertiary institutions became the outposts of student protests and staff strikes, with some of the demonstrations becoming violent.

Peace education in Zimbabwe

While universities were confronting their various economic and political challenges, the entire country was also going through a tumultuous time. In fact, the student movement often joined hands with other actors in expressing their discontent at the shifting socio-economic situation in the country. As such, the late 1990s also witnessed the galvanisation of pressure by civil society, labour movements and student movements against the ZANU–PF-led government.

In September 1999, an opposition party called the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed, led by Morgan Tsvangirai, a former leader of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). The MDC is often described as the first credible opposition to pose a significant challenge to ZANU–PF in post-independent Zimbabwe. From 2000 to 2008, Zimbabwe became a theatre for the political rivalry between these two major parties. Other actors who were aligned to each of the two political parties also participated, directly and indirectly, in this political contestation. Power, governance, ideology and resource distribution were all cardinal factors that contributed to this conflict. The conflict has had dire socio-economic consequences for Zimbabwe, including a declining political space, economic

meltdown, massive exodus of Zimbabweans into the Diaspora, and resultant international condemnation and attempts to isolate the country.

With the foregoing challenges in the education system, the Nziramasanga Presidential Commission on Education and Training was appointed in 1999 to appraise the education system in Zimbabwe. In its recommendations, the Nziramasanga Commission Report called for the state to introduce a civic education campaign designed to engender nationalistic and patriotic thinking among youths in Zimbabwe. The National Youth Service (NYS) Program, which was established in 2001 with the aim of instilling the nation's youth with patriotism and self-reliance, was often regarded by critics as political. The curriculum of the NYS reportedly aimed to instil a 'sense of responsible citizenship among the youth' and sought to prepare them for 'the world and for work in their country'.³⁸

The political role of peace education was evidently expanding and contested, on the one hand focusing on nurturing patriotic ideas and on the other aiming to instil critical thinking and reflection on how to address the emerging challenges in the country. It was against this background that universities in Zimbabwe embraced a curriculum which included peace education, with a view to playing a central role in the mediation of the differences that existed among members of society. Peace education therefore had the role of not only imparting skills for conflict transformation, but also building the pedagogical skills of lecturers in various Zimbabwean universities.

ASSUMPTIONS OF THE PEACE EDUCATION PROGRAMME IN ZIMBABWEAN UNIVERSITIES

Peace education assumes that if individuals acquire ideas that value peace and develop life skills towards conflict management, they will in turn engage in attitudinal and behavioural changes which contribute to the pursuit of peace. In Zimbabwe, the collaboration of universities in the pursuit of peace through the transfer of learning was therefore also based on the belief that 'education is an important transformative institution that plays a key role in peace restoration and long-term development'.³⁹ Peace education in this context was aimed at exposing students and participants to a new understanding, values and attitudes associated with peace. The assumption was that peace education will be able to transform situations of intractable conflict, conflicting narratives, repressive regimes and enduring instability

by changing the attitudinal, perceptual, and relational of recipients of peace education.

However, bringing normalcy to a structurally debilitated society is a challenge facing many conflict interveners in Zimbabwe, including NGOs, religious communities and institutions of higher education. There are a number of NGOs in Zimbabwe working on peace education, including the Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa (CPIA), the Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (CCMT), the Collaborative Peace and Development Trust (CPDT), the Peacebuilding and Community Development Foundation (PACDEF), and the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), among others.

While these actors have done an incredible job of addressing issues such as human rights, democracy and reconciliation, they have largely targeted local communities and adults. Universities, on the other hand, have offered peace education because of the belief that ‘the role of education is to problematise the contentious issues of the day and to provide an intellectual and pedagogical space for open-ended discussion and debate’.⁴⁰ Peace education within Zimbabwean universities targets students who are largely within the 18–30 age group. This is akin to the ‘catch-them-young’ thesis which assumes that there is likely to be greater impact if individuals are introduced to new ideas at a younger age.

In addition, over the past decade, 12 universities in Zimbabwe have played various roles in ensuring that they are part of the change-makers. The Peace and Leadership Education Program was facilitated by the IPLG, which was established in 2002 as the first higher education institution in Zimbabwe to offer specialised graduate programs in Peace and Conflict Studies. The following universities are participants in the programme:

- i. Africa University
- ii. Bindura University of Science Education
- iii. Catholic University in Zimbabwe
- iv. Chinhoyi University of Technology
- v. Great Zimbabwe University (formerly Masvingo State University)
- vi. Lupane State University
- vii. Midlands State University
- viii. National University of Science and Technology (NUST),
- ix. Solusi University
- x. Women's University in Africa (WUA)
- xi. University of Zimbabwe (UZ)
- xii. Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU)

The principal underlying assumption of the peace education programme in Zimbabwe is that universities are an indispensable part of a consortium of societal agencies that can help bridge the divisions between disparate groups in communities. This programme is somewhat unique in the sense that its focus is on actors within higher education institutions. This again comes from the assumption that higher education institutions are responsible for facilitating democracy, social cohesion, peace, security and development.

THE PROCESS AND STRATEGIES OF PEACE EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

The delivery of the peace education programme is a process which began almost a decade ago and continues today. The first institution to offer a degree programme in peace studies in Zimbabwe was Africa University, which launched the Masters in Peace and Governance in 2003 with a cohort of 14 students. By 2005, there were two universities offering peace education related programmes, namely Africa University and Solusi University. Following the launching of the peace education project in 10 other universities, the number of institutions offering peace education programmes had grown to 12 by 2010.

For the *status quo* to be what it is today, various strategies were employed to galvanise the support of higher education officials, get universities' buy-in and have the project implemented. A series of consultative meetings with universities, curriculum development workshops with university lecturers and pedagogical training in peace education cumulatively resulted in the delivery of a fully-fledged peace education programme in most Zimbabwean universities. The following paragraphs outline the processes and strategies that were employed over the past decade by Zimbabwean universities towards the peace education agenda. These peace education programmes have one common goal – to build a culture of peace, non-violence, tolerance and democracy – yet these universities offer peace education in different ways, using dissimilar nomenclature and producing diverse outcomes. The variegated approaches make sense because the 'one-size-fits-all' approach does not cater for different contexts of delivering peace education.

Consultative meetings

The consultation meetings invited a discussion on the critical issues affecting Zimbabwe's leadership, governance and peace realms, paying special attention to what role universities could potentially play in addressing

some of these issues. Over a two-year period, the consultations drew together more than 200 participants who included university senior staff (vice chancellors and registrars), academics, and other education professionals and representatives from the Ministries of Education. The consultations provided the platform for individuals at all levels of higher education not only to discuss the state of the sector in Zimbabwe, but also to focus on how higher education could contribute towards a culture of peace in a country beset by serious socio-economic and political challenges.

The forum helped participants to articulate the issues, experiences and needs in higher education in Zimbabwe. Contributors to these discussions conferred about challenges facing higher education – including shortage of lecturers, funding and learning resources – and proposed specific ways in which universities could redress these identified challenges. Recommendations were diverse, ranging from the provision of enhanced training for staff at all levels, temporary returns programmes for the Diaspora, and inter-university collaboration, including resource sharing and staff exchanges.

As a trainer and facilitator from Africa University's Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance, the author took part in the process and in these consultative meetings. The meetings generated productive discussions and innovative ideas, subsequently initiating a dialogue between academics in Zimbabwe, policymakers and state officials. Participants discussed in depth the objectives of peace and leadership education in Zimbabwean universities, as well as methods of working together for the resuscitation of higher education. Furthermore, these consultations created the impetus not only for future curriculum development and training workshops, but also for dialogue and future collaboration among universities.

Overall, the consultations demonstrated immense willingness and enthusiasm among Zimbabwean academics, education officials and university community at large to support peacebuilding and conflict management processes in Zimbabwe, as well as to contribute to the development of a specific field on peace studies and leadership education in the country. Furthermore, the discussions and outcome of the consultations proved that Zimbabwean tertiary institutions could engage with challenges confronting their country by developing strategies that ensured they produced graduates who would make a difference.

Curriculum design, pedagogy and peace research workshops

Following the initial consultations, the next step involved a series of curriculum design workshops wherein 11 universities participated. These

workshops were coordinated by Africa University, whose IPLG, as the first higher education institution in Zimbabwe to offer specialised graduate programmes in Peace and Conflict Studies, was in a good position to synchronise the peace education project in the country. Lecturers and facilitators from IPLG, who had acquired doctoral degrees in Peace Studies and Conflict Analysis and Resolution, took the lead in training approximately 80 lecturers from 12 universities in Peace and Leadership Education.

The curriculum design workshops spanned over more than one year and were concretised in 2004, when the curriculum was adopted by all universities – with room for adaptation to suit each university's circumstances. Various strategies of delivering peace education are reflective of the flexibility and creativity within Zimbabwean universities, and such diversity has made these institutions important actors in the country's peacebuilding landscape.

Following in the heels of the curriculum development workshops were the pedagogy and peace research workshops, which were held with the participation of lecturers from the 12 universities. These workshops helped lecturers to strengthen their teaching and research skills in peace education – allowing them to focus on issues that were relevant to the Zimbabwe context – and presented the opportunity for education to play a role in strengthening governance and transforming conflict.

At the 2008 Pedagogy and Teaching Methodologies workshop, participants were introduced to methods of teaching and delivering peace education in a manner that is responsive to their university environment. Another objective of this workshop was to explore the theoretical and practical applications of peace pedagogy in the context of Zimbabwe.

The Peace and Leadership Research workshop was held in 2009 at Africa University, with the objectives of examining research concepts and tools in peace education and facilitating an understanding of forms of research for multiple contexts. By the end of the event, participants had covered topics in developing research designs as well as executing them. In groups, they were then tasked with developing research design which they would undertake at their respective universities. The research proposals focused on Zimbabwe, including the nexus between governance and conflict; national healing in the context of the Government of National Unity; HIV/AIDS; and the case of diamond mining in Chiadzwa.

After the pedagogy and research workshops, it was imperative to visit participants in their universities to get a deeper sense of how the peace education programmes were being run on different campuses. In December 2008 and January 2009, the IPLG conducted institutional workshops in the

respective universities to get a picture of the actual operationalisation of the programme.

Operationalising the Peace and Leadership curriculum

Subsequent to the curriculum design and pedagogy workshops, universities began implementing their Peace Education curriculum in several ways. Three main approaches to peace education can be discerned from the Zimbabwean approach: a) adopting peace education as a separate subject in the curriculum; b) requiring a peace education course for graduation; or c) offering a separate degree. Solusi University, for example, opted to create a standalone degree programme focusing on the thematic area and is the only university in Zimbabwe thus far offering a Bachelor's degree in Peace Studies. In contrast, at NUST in Bulawayo, a course titled Conflict Transformation is a prerequisite for the fulfilment of the requirements of a Bachelor's degree. The introductory course has an enrolment of more than 400 students every year.

Most universities found the social sciences and the humanities as being the most appropriate areas for delivering the peace education curriculum. For example, at Africa University, the postgraduate programme was located in the IPLG, while the undergraduate course is hosted by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (FHSS). At NUST, the Conflict Transformation introductory course is hosted by the Faculty of Management, while Solusi University's Peace Studies undergraduate degree is offered by the Department of History and Development Studies. Courses offered in the Master of Governance programme at Africa University include Peace, Conflict and Development, Civil Society in Africa, Human Rights, Leadership and Social Development, and Youth Development. The course titles and content reflect how peace education is used to interrogate political, economic and social issues. The curriculum exposes students to structural causes and manifestations of violence at the individual, organisational, community, national and global levels. These courses explore various issues that are at the intersection between peace, conflict, security, governance and development.

Since the peace education programme is in its formative stages, there are few comprehensive peace education degrees. The most popular strategy is to offer peace education related courses as part of other programmes or disciplines.

As universities were implementing their peace education programmes in their own respective, context-specific ways, one strategy that was used to enhance synergy was the launching of joint projects. One encouraging

outcome emerging from the peace education initiative is that Zimbabwean universities are developing a culture of networking with other institutions in areas such as research and training. As such, following the launch of peace education programmes at the different universities, the next step was for the project coordinators at Africa University to check in with participating universities. It was decided that this process would be conducted at the local level, and thus facilitators from Africa University visited each university to meet with the lecturers and university staff who were in charge of delivering of the curriculum and facilitating the teaching of the peace education. The aims of these institutional visits were twofold: to support a network of lecturers, facilitators and coordinators of the peace education programmes; and to empower them to continue mainstreaming peace education into the university curriculum, processes and programme activities.

PEACE EDUCATION IN ACTION: LESSONS LEARNED

One of the outcomes of the peace education programme is that almost all universities in Zimbabwe have recognised the importance of Peace Education as a key component of the education system. Secondly, there is an enhanced capacity among academic and training institutions to integrate conflict transformation skills into their curricula. Many faculty members who were not trained in peace studies – and who were unaware of the imperative for this thematic – are now proud dispensers of a curriculum that takes special cognizance of the need for a graduate who has skills in conflict transformation and who appreciates the values of non-violent social change.

Educational institutions such as Solusi University were described as 'outstanding' in embracing conflict transformation into their curricula. In addition, the application of a collaborative approach which underscores networking among institutions has ensured that universities regain leadership in contributing towards positive social change. Therefore, another credible outcome of the peace education programme is the creation of a vibrant national network of lecturers and educators who coordinate their teaching and research in the area of peace education. Lecturers from participating universities receive copies of the *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal*, which is published by the University for Peace, a partner in the peace education programme. Furthermore, as a result of the connections that were made over the past decade or so, universities in Zimbabwe have become adept at collaborative engagement. For example, graduates from Africa University's

Master of Peace and Governance programme are usually employed in other universities in the country so that they can teach the respective courses.

It is also common now for universities, alongside civil society organisations, to jointly write grant proposals, conduct research and host conferences under the peace education theme. In October 2011, the Southern Institute for Peacebuilding and Development (SIPD) hosted a conference on community-based peacebuilding which brought together lecturers from several universities in Zimbabwe. This provided a platform for networking and exchanging experiences, and ultimately ensured that the lecturers draw significant insights to incorporate into their curriculum.

Another key outcome was the generation of various peace education materials and approaches being used, both in academic and non-academic programmes. Over the past decade, the peace education programme has developed a wealth of peace education materials at various universities. Africa University as project coordinator, together with all participating universities, developed a curriculum template for the various courses in peace education. In addition, Africa University, with support from the University of Bradford and University for Peace, distributed textbooks and handouts that were developed for the peace education. These materials have remained useful resources for universities offering peace education programmes, especially in the context of resource-deficits in Zimbabwe's tertiary education.

Apart from making direct contact with and impact on university students, one outcome of the peace education programme is the outreach to major stakeholders in Zimbabwe's conflict landscape. In particular, some universities have adopted an approach which targets external individuals and institutions for training in various peace education related themes. Africa University has been able to train members of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces and Police in conflict transformation. Solusi University has also been involved in a number of community outreach projects, including providing training in peacebuilding to youth groups, women's groups and traditional leaders.

As Zimbabwe is still undergoing political and socio-economic transformation following the signing of the Global Political Agreement in 2008, the Inclusive Government (2009–2013) and the 2013 elections, the role of universities in peace education remains important. This explains why the Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI), an entity created by the government in 2009, has been collaborating with academic institutions in an initiative titled *Research into the History of Conflict Project*. This project is being jointly coordinated by ONHRI and Midlands State University, and seeks to utilise empirical research to unpack the root

causes of conflict in Zimbabwe. Academics from various universities who represent different disciplines, such as history, anthropology, sociology and psychology, are involved in the research project. This initiative demonstrates that various aspects of the peace education curriculum should focus upon creating a conducive environment for meaningful dialogue among major actors in the transitional processes in Zimbabwe.

Although many universities have mainstreamed peace education in their curriculum in one way or the other, the process is certainly not free of problems. One major challenge is the lack of capacity within universities, specifically the shortage of lecturers, which is largely attributed to the brain drain that has plagued Zimbabwe since the late 1990s. Following the economic and political decline of Zimbabwe, many institutions of higher learning have been drastically affected by the huge exodus of university staff to destinations that are perceived to offer greener pastures. The dearth of lecturers at universities means that lecturers who are already overburdened with workloads of regular courses are also tasked with teaching peace education related courses. This is compounded by the shortage of funds and learning resources such as textbooks and information and communication technologies (ICTs). Also of huge concern is the deplorable state of physical infrastructure in Zimbabwean state universities. Energy, water and sanitation challenges on campuses remain matters of urgency.

Even though the peace education project in Zimbabwe demonstrated the huge capacity within tertiary institutions to contribute to peace and development by working together in creating and delivering innovative curricula, there is still need for more collaboration – beyond the walls of the university – in order to move the programme forward. This calls for the establishment of partnerships between universities and the private sector, as well as between Zimbabwean universities and universities outside the country.

One major challenge in evaluating the peace education programme in Zimbabwe emerges from a question asked by Salomon:⁴¹ *'Does Peace Education really make a difference?'* This appears to be a difficult question to respond. What makes it difficult, in the case of Zimbabwe, is the continuation of deep-seated conflicts, especially at the political level. There are thousands of students who have so far benefitted from peace education courses, and whom the programme at this stage will have impacted directly, particularly in terms of skills and knowledge acquisition – and, to some extent, of attitude and behavioural change. However, there are other objects and processes which may not yet have been significantly affected by peace education, especially at the level of the polity.

PEACE EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE: STRATEGIES GOING FORWARD

The following are some recommendations for strengthening the peace education initiative in Zimbabwe which emerge from the foregoing analysis.

- Peacebuilding and conflict resolution knowledge and skills should be integrated into all levels of education and training. A pool of expert peace educators should be developed to ensure that universities have a corps of lecturers who can produce effective graduates.
- There is a need to continue to train both new and existing lecturers to ensure that they are adequately equipped not only to manage the pedagogical approaches to peace education, but also to remain connected to emerging developments that affect the curriculum and its delivery.
- More policy debate is needed on how different actors can play various roles in ensuring a peaceful Zimbabwe. This requires a curriculum that addresses the ways in which Zimbabwe can recover from its current political and economic dilemmas. It is this reality that informs the centrality of the education sector in facilitating long-term, strong peace.
- Given the enthusiasm and huge uptake of peace education at university level, it is important for this thematic to be offered also within primary and secondary education.
- Since the long-term goal of peace education in schools and universities is to contribute to the creation of a more peaceful community, it is important for universities to promote stronger links between themselves and the community. This could be done through collaboration with CSOs, as well as through community outreach and capacity building programmes that promote peace in their local communities.
- The uniqueness and relatively early successes of the peace education programme in Zimbabwe means that it has potential to become a regional and pan-African model. Other regions should incorporate lessons from the Zimbabwe programme into their own initiatives.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the trajectory of the process of mainstreaming peace education in the curricula of universities in Zimbabwe, including an analysis of the strategies which were used. This case study has demonstrated that higher education has a broader mandate that goes beyond training learners in specific job-related skills.

The number of university programmes focusing on peace, conflict and leadership has increased significantly within the past decade. The peace education programme was successful in launching various types of peace-related courses and degree programmes in at least 12 universities in Zimbabwe. From this journey of mainstreaming peace education into higher education curricula, dialogue between academics and between universities and education officials was initiated and sustained. Undoubtedly, universities in Zimbabwe have contributed not only to the discourse of peacebuilding, but also to its practice. Additional outcomes of the peace education programme include the creation of a platform for collaborative efforts to rebuild higher education in Zimbabwe, while also providing a reflective space for higher education institutions to evaluate their pedagogy as well as other processes in the provision of teaching and learning.

This chapter has examined the potential of higher education as a tool for peace and as a platform for generating concrete socio-economic and political transformation at community and national levels. By mainstreaming peace education in the various curricula, universities in Zimbabwe demonstrated that higher education has a role in inculcating a culture of peace. The importance of peace education in an unstable state like Zimbabwe could not be underestimated, and the role of universities in providing a solution to the problems of conflict, insecurity and instability in the country has been highlighted.

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Education for Peace and Social Cohesion in a Multicultural Society

Observations from Kunene Region, Namibia

Olga Bialostocka

'No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can also be taught to love.'

– Nelson Mandela

INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at Namibia, a multicultural democracy that hardly ever makes the news in relation to intercultural conflict. Since independence, this Southern African country has put a lot of effort into reforming its education sector to make it more inclusive and culturally sensitive. In one of its recent attempts to provide quality, relevant education, the government introduced a new curriculum that is designed to 'foster the highest moral and ethical values of ... democracy, tolerance, mutual understanding ... develop and enhance respect for, and understanding and tolerance of other peoples, religions, beliefs, cultures and ways of life ...'¹ The programme introduces a multimodal, culture-sensitive education that should accommodate the various lifestyles, traditions and languages of the Namibian population. The aim of the curriculum and, consequently, the vision of the country presented in the document show Namibia's commitment to strengthening social cohesion and guaranteeing a learning environment conducive for pupils from all cultural groups. This chapter offers a glimpse into the reality on the ground, examining the implementation of the project in the province of Kunene.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Universal primary education was one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). However, this international project did not specify what type of education it should be. Making provisions in this regard, the United

Nations' newest post-2015 sustainable development agenda placed culture at the centre of context-based approaches to sustainable development and improved governance,² and called for respect for cultural diversity. This new perspective, with the motto 'one size does not fit all', is human-centred, as it takes into account the local background in designing sustainable development strategies.

Culture and sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development emerged in the late 1980s. It was described as a framework of development strategies in *Our Common Future* (the 'Brundtland Report') in 1987, and established as a paradigm at the Rio de Janeiro Summit of 1992. Back then, culture was not acknowledged in this 'newly born' model of development. Neither was it clearly present in the MDGs (2000), although the relationship between education and culture (respect for cultural diversity) was recognised as early as 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as later, in 1989, in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The close relationship between culture and development has been emphasised by policymakers only in the last decade, when it was recognised that culture constituted a crucial element of sustainable development.³ Currently, ongoing efforts to integrate culture in development in the post-MDG agenda include:

- Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005);⁴
- Culture and Development – UN General Assembly Resolution (2010);⁵
- Policy Statement on Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development – World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders (2010);⁶
- 'The Future We Want for All – Report to the Secretary General' – Outcome Document of the Rio+20 Conference (2012);⁷
- The Hangzhou Declaration on Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies – outcome document of the UNESCO International Congress: Culture – Key to Sustainable Development (2013);⁸ and
- Science, technology and innovation, and the potential of culture for promoting sustainable development and achieving the Millennium Development Goals – ECOSOC Annual Ministerial Review report (2013).⁹

Additional positions relevant to the African continent are:

- AU Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006);¹⁰

- Make Peace Happen, Action Plan for a Culture of Peace in Africa – Pan-African Forum for a Culture of Peace, UNESCO, AU (2013).¹¹

The new paradigm being promoted thus corresponds closely with the concept of education for peace, in general, and of multicultural education in particular.

Culture and education for peace

Multiple definitions of the term ‘education for peace’ have been proposed, and a variety of approaches have been presented by scholars such as Galtung¹², Reardon¹³, Breatherton et al.¹⁴, Synott¹⁵, Harris¹⁶, Page¹⁷, and Wulf.¹⁸ From a holistic perspective, peace education is understood as a comprehensive lifelong process that entails not only teaching a certain content through which values and attitudes are communicated, but also non-violent participatory learning.¹⁹ Education for peace should enable people to:

identify and understand sources of local and global issues and acquire positive and appropriate sensitivities to these problems; resolve conflicts and attain justice in a non-violent way; live by universal standards of human rights and equity by appreciating cultural diversity, respect for the earth and for each other.²⁰

Such understanding of the notion clearly demonstrates that the form of education for peace – the way the content is conveyed – is as important as the content itself. Accordingly, education for peace must exclude both direct and structural violence,²¹ and should make use of different modes of learning (multimodal education).²² The context in which the form and the content of peace education are being developed cannot be neglected. Various internal and external factors influence the process of socialisation of individuals. According to Boulding, education and culture both play a part in shaping a person and equipping them with customs, values and skills necessary for functioning in a society.²³

Thus education for peace includes topics such as, human rights and social justice issues, tolerance for diversity, multicultural education, and rules of sustainable development.²⁴ The integration of cultural diversity in has been addressed in the ongoing discourse on quality education mainly in association with the concept of multicultural education and its five dimensions: content integration, knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering the school structure and social structure.²⁵ According to the National Association for Multicultural

Education (2003) and the International Commission on Education (1996), multicultural education can be defined as:

... [a] philosophy of human dignity founded on the ideals of human rights such as freedom, justice, equality, and equity ... It values cultural differences and cherishes the pluralism that the students, their communities and teachers bring to the school setting ... Its major goal is to help students to develop a positive self-concept by placing students' histories and local experiences at the center of teaching and learning. In order to achieve this goal, teachers must be culturally literate and develop a strong value for diversity.²⁶

Wulf believes that 'in order to be able to deal competently with cultural diversity, we need to experience the Other.'²⁷ Only then does one become capable of understanding and perceiving the world from the perspective of the Other and then one can overcome one's insecurities and uncertainties experienced in relation to Others. The same approach can be found in the African concept of *Ubuntu*.

Ubuntu and the dialogue with the Other

As a philosophy of communitarianism, *Ubuntu* perceives the individual (self) through its relationship with the community (Other). Eze represents this relationship in terms of a dialogue through which both are shaped and enriched.²⁸ Accordingly, the value and significance of an individual is not diminished by the community, as neither of the two takes precedence over the other; and the pursuit of the common good need not undermine individual subjectivity.²⁹ Moreover, *Ubuntu* is not synonymic with the idea of uniformity or consensus, but recognises the importance of context.³⁰ Thus, it stands on par with the concept of social cohesion, which is understood as 'coping with diversity' rather than 'searching for consensus'.³¹

The idea of the self being constructed through dialogue with the Other also constitutes the very basis of the philosophy of dialogue. Buber described the relationship that an individual can have with the world using two models: *I-Thou* and *I-It*. In the first, self and the Other, as equals, were engaged in a reciprocal relation, the result of which was a mutually beneficial dialogue created between them. The characteristic feature of *I-It* relationship was its asymmetry, whereby '*I*' objectified '*It*', making the interaction void. Buber pictured '*I*' only in rapport with the Other in the 'realm of the between'.³²

Levinas, on the other hand, believed that *I*'s autonomy enabled him/her to function apart from the Other. It was actually through the 'face to face' interaction with the world that this autonomy was realised.³³ In his deliberations, Levinas focused specifically on the significance of the difference that one had to accept in the Other. It was this difference that represented the value in one's encounter with the world, as it still allowed for the self to identify with the Other on the premise that each one could be this Other. Rimbaud expressed the same idea in the famous '*Je est un autre*' (I is the Other) statement, while Kapu[ci]ski spoke about the Other as 'a mirror, in which I glance and reflect myself, which makes me realise who I am'.³⁴

Paulo Freire used dialogue as a premise of pedagogy. He juxtaposed critical (liberating) pedagogy based on dialogue and critical thinking with 'banking education', which was defined as 'an act of depositing, in which students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits, which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat'.³⁵ Freire advocated that education should be a platform for pupils to share experiences, which would help in identifying problems and acting accordingly. He believed that only education that encouraged students to question the reality and the self could lead them to transformation. Freire called this process of reflection and action '*conscientização*' – which means critical consciousness – and commended dialogue as a means by which teachers and students should encounter each other and, in return, get to the core of themselves.

In all of the mentioned philosophies, the self needs the Other, as, through interaction with *Thou*, *I* is shaped and its humanity developed. Yet, while *Ubuntu* focuses on solidarity, which constitutes the foundation of African collectivistic societies, Freire's '*conscientização*' and liberating education are mainly concerned with the individual and its self-contemplation. In both cases, however, dialogue and experience represent sources of knowledge and the way to comprehending and appreciating the Other through joint experience.

The same concept constitutes the basis of UNESCO's approach to development, education and peacebuilding. Promoting the motto of 'unity in diversity', the organisation recognises that 'intercultural dialogue plays the essential role in bridging cultural differences, while nurturing the diversity of cultural expressions through processes of mutual interaction, support and empowerment'.³⁶ At the centre of this dialogue, obviously, is culture.

Building social cohesion and mutual understanding with culture

As a very complex notion, culture has multiple definitions and various approaches to its study.³⁷ Several levels (individual and collective), aspects (static and dynamic) and properties (e.g. contextual – ecological, economical, socio-political – perceptual and material elements) of culture have been distinguished, and different theories and methodologies of cultural research are based upon them. Among multiple conceptions of culture, two major approaches, or models, can be found in the academic literature.

An essentialist model (also called the totalitarian or culturalist approach) sees culture as a static, fixed, finite and objective phenomenon that determines the individual. It considers culture as something traditional, authentic and historically determined. Cultural essentialists tend to reify culture, often putting it on par with ethnicity. Consequently, cultural identities become viewed as opposing each other,³⁸ and as separated from the human's individuality and defined from the outset. As a result, these identities easily become an element of categorisation of people and a source of stereotypes. The differences between cultures are then seen as divisive factors, instead of having value assigned to them. Moreover, cultural essentialism does not leave space for change in values, behaviours or customs inherited from the past, as it perceives the 'evolution' of culture in terms of a loss and a threat to one's identity – be it national, cultural, religious, ethnic, or linguistic. Such an approach – that sees change as a risk to one's cultural identity – represents a trigger for cultural anxiety, which can lead to further tensions between different cultural groups.

A non-essentialist model (also called processual³⁹ or dynamic⁴⁰), on the other hand, describes culture as a dynamic process of constant change, in which one's identity is continually constructed and renegotiated anew through dialogue.⁴¹ Culture according to non-essentialists is not definitive, but strongly contextualised.⁴²

A third, integrative approach proposes reconciling the abovementioned models by recognising both static and dynamic aspects of culture and acknowledging its dual discursive construction.⁴³ It describes people as 'culturally embedded', yet constantly challenging their 'historically created system of meaning (that is) subject to change ...'⁴⁴ In line with this integrative model, Praslova defined culture as 'a process unfolding in the interaction of objective reality, individual-level psychological mechanisms, and collective forms of cultural adaptation'.⁴⁵ Thus, the scholar took into account not only the static/dynamic nature of culture but also its heterogeneity.

Cultures, like individuals, do not exist in a vacuum; they are nurtured in relationship to one another, the result of which is a dynamic, multifaceted

identity. The challenge of multicultural societies lies in embracing and respecting cultural differences, while at the same time promoting shared values that develop at the intersections of the varied identities. Cultural diversity does not challenge either national identity or social cohesion; it is supposed to enhance them through 'unity in diversity'.

Contrary to the 'individuum-centred perspective of societal development',⁴⁶ social cohesion is a concept that concentrates on the interdependence of people bound by solidarity and common values. It is a broad and vague concept, which has many definitions.⁴⁷ Commonly described using words such as uniformity, social integration, shared, collective, conformity, consensus, or common, it seems to stand in opposition to multiculturalism. Multiculturalism itself has probably as many critics (Barry⁴⁸, Huntington⁴⁹ and Sen⁵⁰) as advocates (Taylor⁵¹, Kymlicka⁵², Parekh⁵³). The first group argues that it nurtures conflicts by isolating people. The argument of the second group is that it may actually help build social unity by recognising diversity.

Is there a place for social cohesion in such a pluralistic model of society? Banks argues that diversity 'enriches a society by providing new ways to view events and situations, to solve problems, and to view our relationship with the environment and with other creatures'.⁵⁴ Reitz echoes this view.⁵⁵

It is noteworthy that the sociological notion of social cohesion has its roots in Durkheim's and Dewey's studies of homogeneous societies. These scholars believed that social cohesion in such a homogeneous context could be achieved through education based on shared morality; hence their search for consensus on fundamental moral values.⁵⁶ Yet the proposed model cannot stand the reality of pluralistic societies. Therefore, 'the focus of social cohesion [needs to] shift from consensus to the art of *coping with diversity and dissensus*. This shift requires a social morality that changes its agenda from 'how to justify Us' to 'how to be with Others'.⁵⁷

And to answer the question of 'how to be with Others', one needs to reflect on five dimensions of social cohesion: belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy.⁵⁸ The same factors should also be taken into consideration when developing educational policy for peace in multicultural societies. Adoption of multilingual policies and context specific education has been discussed profusely as important elements of personal development.⁵⁹ Accordingly, the learning process and the content that is taught need to be adjusted, so as to be culturally relevant. Both should also be flexible and adaptable to cultural change. Multicultural and multilingual school programmes have to include multiple perspectives and should be

developed based on the histories and traditions of all cultural groups in a society.

Traditional (or indigenous) education can also play an important role as an out-of-school method of knowledge sharing and participatory learning that is developed in a specific context and that responds to particular social needs.⁶⁰ Only education pertinent to the reality of pupils can prepare them for the challenges of their life. A multicultural curriculum can, according to Banks, strengthen social cohesion and 'contribute to the development of a healthy nationalism and national identity'.⁶¹ However, contextualisation of education should not simply consist in attaching an ethnic element to the old curriculum, but should transform the entire structure. Equally crucial is developing cultural competence and historical awareness in learners, so as to eliminate prejudice and reduce stereotyping. Participatory cultural, artistic and sport activities can be a helpful tool in this endeavour.⁶²

The humanities and social sciences encourage learners to become aware of their own biases and to re-examine their assumptions. The inclusion of world religions and faith curricula can help to dissipate many of the misunderstandings that can make living together problematic. The arts are a strong and universal tool for promoting mutual understanding and peace ... Arts education can also help to address ethnocentrism, cultural bias, stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and racism.⁶³

CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN NAMIBIA – KUNENE REGION CASE STUDY

Namibia is inhabited by multiple cultural groups, among which the main peoples include the Ovambo, the Damara, the Nama, the Herero, the Caprivian people, the Kavango tribes, the San the Ovahimba, the Tswana, the Rehoboth Basters, the Coloureds, and the Europeans. The country is divided into 13 administrative regions.⁶⁴ Kunene, situated in the north-western part of Namibia, is one of the least developed and least accessible regions. Its northern part is generally known as the land of the Himba people, who share it with the Ovatjimba, Ovazemba and Ovatwa tribes.⁶⁵ The southern part of this area is occupied by various other groups, the majority of them being the Damara, the Nama, the Ovambo, the Herero, and the San.

The history of relations between different cultural groups in the region is quite interesting. Historically, Kunene was divided into Kaokoland (north), which the Herero people considered their land, and Damaraland (south), which was claimed by the Damara. Animosity between the Otjiherero

speaking and the Khoekhoegowab speaking people remain to this day, despite the fact that both groups are currently administratively joined. With a multicultural and multilingual population, Kunene today represents a cultural mix that can be found almost anywhere in Namibia.

The views presented below are based on a pilot study conducted in three state primary schools in the Kunene Region in Namibia (referred to as schools A, B and C). The institutions were chosen using cluster sampling, using the existing educational cluster-circuit system operating in the country.⁶⁶ The schools visited each belong to a different circuit and are all cluster centres.⁶⁷

This qualitative localised research was designed to understand people's lived experiences with respect to multiculturalism in the educational setting. It aimed at studying, through the perspective of teachers and pupils, awareness of and respect for cultural diversity in schools, as a condition for creating a learning environment that would be conducive for children of all cultural groups. The data was collected through: observations in classrooms (to study the behaviour of pupils and teachers in the usual school environment and observe their interactions); in-depth interviews with teachers and headmasters (to gain information on individual perspectives and experiences); and focus group discussions with learners (to obtain a general view of pupils on their culturally diverse realities). The teachers were also asked to complete a questionnaire containing open-ended questions.⁶⁸

Primary schools were chosen for the study, given that education in Namibia is compulsory only up to Grade 7 (or until the child reaches the age of 16, if it comes first). Primary education is then the principal and often the only tuition that people receive.

Short history of education in Namibia

After years of foreign rule – first by the Germans (1883–1915), then by South Africa under the mandate of the UN – Namibia gained independence in 1990. With the advent of freedom, the new government prioritised the education sector as the one to move the country forward under the banner of equality and democracy. The new Constitution of the Republic of Namibia made sure that the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens of the country were protected. The act made provisions for quality free education (Art. 20) and freedom of cultural expression (Art. 19, which mentions the practice of culture, language, tradition and religion).⁶⁹

Shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, The Language Policy for Schools: 1992–1996 and Beyond was introduced. Revised in 2003, it

functions as the 'Language Policy for Schools in Namibia'. The policy established 'equality of all national languages regardless of the number of speakers or the level of development of a particular language.'⁷⁰ Mother tongue was chosen as the language of instruction in primary schools from Grade 1 to 3 (lower level), while English must be used as the first language in Grades 4–7 (upper level); Grade 4 is a year of transition, when mother tongue can still be used intermittently. The Language Policy states that 'a person's identity is contained in the language and the culture you have inherited from your forefathers. To be an individual in a multicultural society you must possess your cultural identity and traditional norms that you call your own.'⁷¹ In line with this statement, the policy stipulates that schools may organise co-curricular cultural activities to promote different cultures and languages, in order to teach children to appreciate the value of the multicultural and multilingual character of their country.

In 2000, the government focused its work on 13 groups of children identified as 'educationally marginalised.'⁷² In the National Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children that was issued in this regard, three main reasons for marginalisation were given, namely poverty, discriminatory attitudes/bullying at schools by people from dominant groups, and illiteracy among the parents of marginalised children. The San and the Ovahimba children were among those affected. The problem of providing access to quality education for marginalised communities in Namibia was further dealt with in the Education Act (2001), as well as in the National Policy on Inclusive Education (draft dated to 2008).

A leap forward in the fight against prejudice, discrimination and marginalisation of certain cultural groups at schools seems to be the National Curriculum for Basic Education. It describes the new education system as learner-centred and helping to build a knowledge-based society. Provision was made for including in the programme: social sciences classes prepared with an inter-faith approach; arts education, described as 'key to the development of personal and social identity and culture';⁷³ and physical education, which was to help develop self-esteem and positive competition among pupils.

Evidence from primary schools in Kunene region

Despite the many efforts of the government to accommodate different peoples and their varied cultural expressions, and to ensure respect for the Other, divisions along ethnic, tribal and social status lines are still present in Kunene schools. The multitude of languages spoken in the area represents

an obstacle to mother tongue instruction; and the issue of religious education poses questions regarding the intercultural competence of the school personnel.

Divisions and stereotypes in a multicultural school

'You are always making noise. How is it that in Ms. X class you are always quiet? It's because she's a Damara and you are all Damaras. I am not a Damara but I am still your teacher.'

– Teacher, school A

Prejudice and misconceptions about other cultures were observed in all three locations, as much among teachers as among the pupils. Besides divisions along ethnic or tribal lines, social status constituted yet another divisive factor.

The most common phenomenon observed in Kunene is the practice of referring to others using an ethnic group name, instead of a proper name or surname. This widely shared 'habit' is so common in the society that respondents had difficulty in assessing whether it carried offensive connotations or not. The opinion 'everyone does it', voiced by one of the interviewees, indicates the extent of the problem. Some of the teachers interviewed considered it insulting, others were hesitant, but revealed that they themselves did not like being addressed this way, even though they referred to others in that way regularly. One respondent from school C claimed that less educated people were simply not aware of the derogatory nature of such words in a given context. However, this does not explain why the teachers themselves sometimes used the group names to address pupils, while learners teased each other in this way too.

This particular practice might have far-reaching consequences, as it influences people's life choices. A teacher from school C admitted that it prevented her from establishing relationships with men from other cultural groups, as a child born from such a 'mixed' couple would be 'singled out' by its own family members. Surprisingly, though, while she would not want her own child to be treated this way, she admitted to using the group name with reference to her own nephew, whose father was from a different cultural group.

People's identity is apparently, first and foremost, seen through their affiliation to a specific cultural group. This cultural background is also commonly used as a reason for people's behaviour. In consequence, far-reaching generalisations are frequently made in which an individual's behaviour is

presented as a feature of the entire tribe or cultural group. Each of the cultural groups has a 'label' attached to it, as a teacher at school B said. One is perceived as particularly clever or hard working, the other as exceptionally violent. These perceived 'cultural differences' represent yet another barrier for people to become involved with the Other. A female teacher from school C indicated she would not marry a person from another cultural group, as differences (even as small as types of food eaten) would be too difficult for her to deal with. Moreover, being a Herero, she rejected the idea of marrying a Damara man, giving as reason the existing cultural stereotype that Damaras are violent. She believed that beating women was allowed in the Damara culture.

Observations of the school environment and conversations with the teachers and pupils at the three institutions confirm that the Other is always 'singled out' from the group, including: a person of different colour or of different ethnicity in a larger group; a pupil wearing a different outfit (i.e. traditional clothes instead of school uniform); a person from a different village; someone from a tribe considered socially lower than one's own. Depending on the area, the cultural demographics, or the scale at which these problems are perceived, there will be different tensions between specific groups, sub-groups, or even villages, and they become a source of discrimination.

Bilingual education in linguistic diversity

'We speak San language but in school we talk English its not easy for me to talk English because I am used to talk our lovely San language when I am at home I speak one language and that's way its not easy for'.

– Pupil, school A (original writing)

It has been proven that bilingual education that includes learning in one's mother tongue can provide substantial benefits to learners, by improving basic literacy and numeracy, reaching the marginalised groups in the society, and empowering people by assigning value to local cultures.⁷⁴ Yet, to implement mother tongue education in a multilingual society is a difficult task. In Namibia, language still represents a major problem in the school environment. Although the education system requires all children from Grades 1 to 3 to be taught in their mother tongue/dominant language of the area, this is not always a reality.

In school A, children of all grades were being taught in English as the first language. The school's population was linguistically diverse, thus no

language was dominant in the area. Yet, despite the variety of African languages spoken by the pupils, only one – Khoekhoegowab – was offered as a second language option, along with Afrikaans. Noteworthy was that both English and Afrikaans were the first languages of only a few learners, and almost half of the teachers. The current language policy stipulates that ‘in a school where there are a substantial number of learners (20 or more) from different language groups, the school must make arrangements to provide instruction in the different languages.’⁷⁵ In the said school, the main barrier for opening a new class was apparently not the lack of teachers who could teach in a particular language, but insufficient resources (time and space, as one teacher explained), as well as the requirement to gather a group of at least 20 learners to substantiate such an arrangement.

Language represents a lesser problem when the school population is fairly homogeneous, as in the case of the two other schools visited – B and C. In both, the language of the dominant group – Otjiherero – was established as the mode of instruction at the lower primary level. At the upper primary level, English replaced mother tongue as the first language, in line with the policy. Yet, switching to English after only three years was a struggle for most of the pupils.⁷⁶ As they were not fluent enough in English to understand the lessons, teachers often had to resort to the mother tongue/dominant language to explain specifics. Obviously, this is not a solution for an instructor who does not know the local language. In such a case, in school C, the teacher had to ask learners who understood the lesson in English to explain it in their own language to the others in the class. Alternatively, a teacher speaking the local language could be called to assist.

As can be seen from the above example, language poses problems, not only for learners, but also for teachers from outside the dominant group. The study showed that it may constitute a barrier to learning, teaching and socialising. Accordingly, children who do not have the opportunity to learn at school in their home language are disadvantaged from the start. Some of them begin education by learning two new languages, both of which constitute promotional subjects. If they join the class at the early stages, they may still have time to learn the dominant language. However, if they are transferred to a new school at a later phase, switching languages may eventually affect their academic results.

To add to the problem, proficiency in English among teachers is not a reality. Sometimes, conveying even a simple notion or formula (such as multiplication and division in Mathematics) constitutes a challenge, the result being that progress in other subjects may be hindered.⁷⁷ It has also been observed that although students are obliged to speak English during

lesson time and breaks, teachers do not give the learners a good example in this matter – they themselves choose to communicate with each other using local African languages. As much as it is easy to turn a blind eye to such an attitude, much more disturbing is teachers making mistakes constructing simple sentences in English and expecting children to copy them from the blackboard.

Children from school A, who started their education in English in Pre-Primary school and continued in English throughout the whole education process, achieved a much better proficiency in that language. For them, however, like for the children who represent linguistic minorities in an area, lack of mother tongue schooling may, in the end, turn out to be harmful, both socially and culturally. The danger of local languages and distinctive dialects simply vanishing as a result of this practice is also an authentic threat.

Religious education in an inter-faith spirit

'Damaras are not bad people but many of them does not go to church only a few are going.'

– Pupil, school A (original writing)

Another issue that requires attention in terms of education in a multicultural society is the question of religion. Namibia is a secular country, and although the majority of the society is Christian, traditional beliefs are still followed by the people – in Kunene, by the Ovahimba, Ovattjimba, Ovazemba and Ovatwa people in particular. Consequently, not all the children who attend school are Christians.

In terms of ethics, the Namibian education system provides learners with a subject called 'Religious and Moral Education' (RME), which, according to the syllabus, should give them a broader knowledge of diverse spiritual traditions present in the country, as well as outside it. The Ministry of Education emphasised clearly that although Christianity is a dominant religion in the country, RME should be taught using an inter-faith approach. Furthermore, teachers should not impose their own beliefs on learners, but need to adapt the curriculum to the many views and traditions represented in the class.⁷⁸

Despite these guidelines, Christian religion is regularly treated as a central concept around which the schooling ends up revolving. It may be simply a result of the teachers being unfamiliar with local customs and values, or other world religions; indeed, some of the respondents admitted to not

having enough knowledge of religious traditions other than their own. But this is not always the case. Frequently, the personal attitudes of teachers towards other faiths play a preponderant role in religious education. For instance, in two of the schools visited (A and B), Christianity was practiced on a daily basis. Learners had to pray every day at the beginning of classes, and the Bible was read at the assembly that took place once a week. Teachers also started their day with a communal prayer. These religious practices were encouraged by the school management, to the satisfaction of the teachers who shared these beliefs, and the frustration of those who preferred not to merge faith with work and school education.

Hence, reactions to the requirement of teaching in an inter-faith spirit were different. According to a teacher from school A, 'the problem with our [Namibian] education system is that we are Christians and we have to teach Jewish [religion]. I don't understand that. I wasn't even taught that.' Another informant from the same institution, who is involved wholeheartedly in missionary work, stated bluntly when asked about other religions and beliefs being taught at school, 'I don't teach that. It's dangerous.' An opinion was also voiced (school B) that the school was imposing Christianity on students, who were often raised in traditional African homes and who therefore did not follow the religion of Jesus Christ.

It seems that at least some of the teachers were ignorant of the fact that the learners were 'discreetly' being immersed in Christianity. When asked openly about it, they usually claimed that all religions were shared with the pupils and that no one was forced to follow any beliefs. One respondent from school B said that children were getting acquainted with God, but this God was not specified. In her class, though, as the author observed, children were told Bible stories, sang songs and recited poems addressed to Jesus, and when learning about the days of the week, they repeated, 'Five days of the week we go to school ... and on Sunday we go to church'.

Clearly, associations with Christianity cannot be denied. Moreover, pastors were welcome to talk to children and to invite them to attend services at their churches, while other religious leaders or representatives of the community did not visit the school. Christian references were even made when teaching subjects that had nothing to do with RME. For instance, during geography class, a teacher from school A described the Nile as the river in North Africa where Moses was left afloat in a basket; and the Red Sea was defined as the sea that the Israelites walked through.

Only in school C did the approach to religion seem much more liberal. 'You should not be forced to believe in anything. You need to choose for yourself. You have free choice,' one teacher told his pupils. Speaking of

different beliefs, he did not judge or rate them, but simply concluded, 'Some people believe they are talking to God through the holy-fire and the ancestors, some choose Muhammad, others Jesus Christ. God is one; the ways people choose to communicate with him are different'.

WAY FORWARD

The study did not attempt to draw a complete image of intercultural relations between the diverse peoples in the country, or particularly Kunene. It rather intended to identify issues or possible gaps in the implementation of education policies that address the country's cultural diversity in the school setting. Although the results are relevant for a very particular context, some generalisation may be acceptable, given that the same education system, policies and curriculum are relevant for the whole country. Consequently, the research can become a point of departure for deeper investigation and analysis.

The schools visited ranged from those that are culturally and linguistically homogeneous to those that are very diverse. This variety had implications for the way the curriculum and policies were implemented at each institution. The attitudes of school management members and the teachers towards other cultures and religions differed to a great extent. They could be associated with the level of cultural competence of individuals interviewed, but are also strongly dependent on people's personal beliefs and life circumstances. Thus, the research demonstrates how differently the same syllabus may be interpreted and, further, how the school may influence the views of children, depending on the teachers' orientation, and not necessarily on their qualifications. The study also shows that, in the end, it is individuals – teachers and school management – who decide on whether a particular policy will be put into practice in the class/school or not, i.e. individual perceptions and assessment of reality takes precedence.

Moreover, teachers tend to see themselves primarily as transmitters of information and the knowledge in the manuals. The majority of them seemed to perceive school as a place where children 'receive data' and a clear understanding of what is right and wrong, not knowledge to which they have to apply critical thinking. Hence, some clearly struggled with designing lessons in more abstract subjects such as arts. Meanwhile, it is art classes and other humanities classes (such as religious and moral education) that are supposed to be a platform for children and teachers to interact, to create ties and connections, to have a dialogue with each other,

to look for shared values among the multiple cultures, to discuss differences, and to collaborate and learn from one another, instead of competing.

Accordingly, teachers' understanding of the outcomes that education is designed to provide is key to transforming the system from 'banking education', which only communicates facts, to pedagogy that enables development of critical thinking and opens a debate on the varied philosophies and values existing in the society and the world at large. These norms and morals are not simply those that the particular teacher represents or that the dominant group in the community embraces. They need to be negotiated in a process of intercultural dialogue from among the multitude of values and ethics pertinent to the various cultural groups.

Furthermore, in a learner-centred education system, which the Namibian system intends to be, it is the cultural background of students and their experiences that need to become the foundation of the teaching-learning process. Therefore, to be able to teach the students to embrace their own culture, while respecting that of others and showing empathy towards the differences they represent, the teachers first have to possess intercultural competencies, to be able appreciate the Other and engage in a dialogue that could lead them to a re-evaluation of their world views, and to self-reflection on their own cultural identity. Moreover, local communities and parents should be involved in the school education system as well. Community representatives, leaders of different religions, tribal chiefs and storytellers should all be engaged to share their knowledge with the young people and demonstrate the variety of people's experiences and opinions. Only by recognising difference and seeing value in it will students truly be able to respect others, and to live in a heterogeneous society without the fear of losing part of their cultural identity as a result of cultural change.

In this context, building the 'cultural' self-esteem of children by demonstrating positive values embedded in each culture is a fundamental task, and a reason why instruction in African languages and contextualisation of education to the local perspective should be prioritised. Given the interdependence between proficiency in the first language and the ability to excel in the second one,⁷⁹ mother tongue education could be beneficial for students' aptitude to learning a foreign language as well. However, taking into consideration the number of languages spoken in Namibia, in order to provide for equal opportunities for cultural minorities in respective areas, the Ministry of Education should revise the quota of 20+ learners required to open a new language class. Lessons in African languages could also be organised as an extra-curricular activity.

During a conversation with teachers at school C, one argued that, on the ground, among people, there are no divisions. The divisions start with political parties that cause trouble and turn people against each other. Indeed, Namibian politics is considered among the most 'ethnic' in Africa. Ethnic origin plays a significant role in party affiliation and voting behaviour.⁸⁰ Yet, can political parties be considered beings *per se*? Can we blame them for tribal loyalties? Or perhaps real people are actually on both sides of the political rhetoric.

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- 2 UNESCO International Congress 'Culture: Key to Sustainable Development'. 2013a. Plenary Session: *Culture in the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda*. Available at <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/Post2015SustainableDevelopmentAgendaENG.pdf> [Accessed 13 December 2013].
- 3 In the 1990s, R. Klitgaard argued that there were 'no close professional links between those who study culture and those who make and manage development policies'. The scholar identified four reasons for this situation, namely: cultural clashes within academia; fear of the mis-use of cultural knowledge; the inherent difficulty of studying cultures scientifically, or the methodological difficulties of modelling and estimating culture-by-policy interactions; and the possibility that some success stories have been under-publicised. See Klitgaard, R., 1994. 'Taking culture into account: From "let's" to "how"', in Serageldin, I. and Taboroff, J. (eds.), 1994. *Culture and development in Africa*. Environmentally Sustainable Development Proceedings Series, 1. Washington, D.C. The World Bank. p.75.
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- 65 Ovahimba (who are semi-nomad cattle herders), Ovatjimba and Ovatwa (hunter-gatherers), and Ovazemba; are all quite similar to each other. Himbas and Tjimbas are often associated with the Hereros, though; Tjimbas and Ovatwa are also believed to be indigenous people of Namibia, and sometimes so are the Himbas. Ovatjimba and Ovatwa are the most impoverished of the whole population, as they do not own cattle and are often looked down upon by the Herero and Himba pastoral people. The four groups traditionally inhabit the north-western part of the country. Tjimbas are termed the 'left behind' by other groups, as they did not follow other tribes to present-day Angola, but stayed in Namibia during migrations of people, caused by cattle raiding by the Nama. The tribes that fled north were called 'Ovahimba' by tribes inhabiting Angola, which means 'beggars', as they 'begged' for food and shelter.
- 66 The school system in the country is organised in clusters and grouped into circuits. It was established with the aim of decentralising the education sector and giving people from each region the opportunity to participate in decision-making.

- One school in each cluster is chosen as a cluster centre, and is responsible for setting a good example of management and teaching practices.
- 67 School A is a town school, while B and C are village schools. Their location, which might logically influence the quality of education provided, seems to affect the general living conditions of the pupils and teachers housed at the school hostel, rather than academic accomplishment. The town school was culturally and linguistically the most diverse.
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Transformation Education

Interrogating the Utility of Conflict Transformation Theory in Peace Education in Plateau State, Nigeria

Dorcas Ettang

INTRODUCTION¹

Youth and children increasingly have to deal with violence in their families, their communities, and even with their peers. In most cases, they have been victims of violence or have engaged in violence either by force or by choice. The impact of violence on the younger generation is far-reaching, thus Craig writes that, for teachers, there is a general view and understanding that children's 'deep concerns' about violence are having an adverse impact on their cognitive abilities.² Beyond that, the impact of violence can contribute to a never-ending cycle of violence.

Peace education then becomes pivotal in changing the perceptions and increasing the commitment of young individuals to non-violence and peaceful responses. According to the 1965 Declaration of the United Nations General Assembly:

... young people should be educated in the spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect and understanding, in order to promote equal rights for all peoples and nations, as well as economic and social progress, disarmament, and the maintenance of peace and international security.³

Against this backdrop, this chapter will do the following: first, it will examine how peace education can be used in contexts where ethno-religious violence has taken place, by examining the case of Plateau State, Nigeria. Secondly, it will explore the contribution of conflict transformation theory in the development of peace education curricula and relevant methodologies at secondary schools in Plateau State. It will also identify and briefly discuss some of the contentious issues that emerge when trying to develop and implement a state-wide policy or programme on peace education at secondary schools in the state.

Over time, peace education has been defined and designed to respond to various threats to peace. Peace education has been referred to as: 'conflict

resolution education', with a focus on inculcating alternative dispute resolution strategies;⁴ 'education for mutual understanding' in Ireland; 'A-bomb education' against the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; 'reunification education' in Korea; 'nuclear education' in the United States and Great Britain; and 'development education', which focuses on issues of poverty and under-development and on avenues to resolve these and other structural problems.⁵ For purposes of this case study, and using conflict transformation theory as a foundation, peace education will be referred to as 'transformation education', as it not only attempts to focus on resolving the structural and underlying causes of the conflict, but also gives utmost importance to the transformation of relationships.

An examination of the case of Plateau State is particularly useful, as it contributes to existing literature on how peace education can be applied in largely divided societies that are characterised by the politicisation of ethnicity and religion. Furthermore, its relevance must be examined through the lens of a society where young people are actively involved in violence, both as victims and perpetrators. Peace education therefore becomes relevant in a region where violence and youth have become 'synonymous' with violence as the preferred and only tool used to achieve a particular outcome.⁶

BACKGROUND

Plateau State, in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, has historically been regarded as Nigeria's 'Home of Peace and Tourism'.⁷ While, historically, it has been known for the high level of tolerance and coexistence between groups, this changed with the violent attacks since 1994 – attacks which have become increasingly frequent and more violent. The conflict in the state is complex, as it plays into ethnic and religious sentiments and indigene versus settler contestations over land and other resources. This is taking place within a state that is seen by some as partisan, biased and exclusionist.

The period from 2001 to 2012 has been described as the most violent and deadliest period of ethno-religious violent conflict in the state. Over 80 episodes of violence involving the Berom, Anaya and Afizere groups (BAA) and Hausa-Fulani communities occurred between 1999 and 2004.⁸ According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), over 3 800 lives have been lost in the ethno-religious violence over 10 years.⁹ The violence has also become more frequent, deadlier, more organised and widespread, and has spread beyond

the capital city of Jos to other Local Government Areas (LGAs). Beyond the violence between ethno-religious formations, the Boko Haram Islamist militant group has contributed to the insecurity in the state with suicide bombings and attacks on churches.

Young people have also been drawn into the conflict and are engaging in violent attacks. Unemployed and disenfranchised youths have become easy recruits and are learning armed violence-related skills.¹⁰ In a meeting of experts, spearheaded by the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), to discuss a peace education policy for Plateau State, it was noted that primary and secondary institutions of learning have created spaces for militant groups to emerge and for violence to continue in villages, states and towns.¹¹ The foregoing examples give credit to the argument that there has been a rising rate of 'adolescent delinquency and violent behaviour' in Plateau State, as well as in other states in Nigeria like Kano and Kaduna.¹² In particular, children and youth in Plateau State are growing and developing within this context of violence and its outcomes, and are showing anti-social behaviour and engaging in the violence.¹³

In the aftermath of the violent attacks, trauma and victimisation have led to reprisal attacks and a culture of mistrust. The wounds and trauma from the past have still not been dealt with. Another outcome of the tensions and ensuing violence has been segregation of the state capital – Jos metropolis – into Muslim-dominated and Christian-dominated areas. This segregation is characterised by suspicion, stereotypes and a lack of trust between these two major religious formations.

This segregation has spilled over into institutions of education, particularly at the secondary and primary school levels.¹⁴ In 2000, the number of Christian students and teachers at a government school in a predominantly Muslim neighbourhood decreased from 74 per cent and 77 per cent to 0 per cent and 29 per cent, respectively.¹⁵ In another instance, a secondary school saw a rapid decrease of Muslim students and teachers from 24 per cent and 9 per cent to virtually none by 2011.¹⁶ In some instances, classes have been disrupted and teachers have been killed during violent episodes.¹⁷ In addition to these factors, the crisis has created a negative environment between and amongst pupils and teachers.¹⁸ Students are also afraid to go to school due to threats or fear of violence, according to one respondent.¹⁹

Women and children have been the main victims of the atrocities. Many children have been drawn into this culture of violence, stereotypes, mistrust, tolerance and feelings of insecurity as they have watched the conflict escalate and become more destructive. Some are willing and ready to engage in violence to try to protect their communities and homes.²⁰ Others have

been taught to hate, which is a recipe for future violence and retaliation.²¹ A respondent noted that small children of five years are already exposed to identities, and they are vocal about this.²² Furthermore, the family, religious and other institutions are fomenting the problem by encouraging their children to fight or inciting the use of violence through their remarks. This is why a respondent suggested that achieving peace requires that mothers teach their children about peace.²³ It is also why peace education is pivotal at the primary school level.

The youth have also been affected by the conflict. Having lost parents and providers, many have had to drop out of school and cannot continue with their education.²⁴ Many youths at the grassroots level remain unemployed.²⁵ While a respondent noted that the youth, as agents of violence, is an issue requiring immediate attention, another noted that violence will stop once the youth have been enlightened.²⁶ The truth is that although the youth have engaged in violence, they have also contributed to peace efforts – and most of them genuinely want peace.

As both a short-term and long-term response, peace education plays a major role in assisting youth, particularly at the secondary school level, in developing the attitudes, values, knowledge and skills necessary to move Plateau State towards peace, security and stability. Following the ideas of Bar-Tal and Rosen, there are four key reasons why peace education is important within the school system:

- a. Education in schools is sure to reach a whole segment of society (i.e. the younger generation), because attending school is compulsory for all children and adolescents.
- b. Schools are often the only social institution that can formally, intentionally and extensively achieve the mission of peace education, as they have the authority, legitimacy, resources, methods and conditions to carry it out.
- c. Schooling takes place during children's formative years, and the young generation, which is still in the process of acquiring a psychological repertoire, is least affected by the dominating ethos and more open to new ideas and information.
- d. The young generation is required to learn the messages and information transmitted at schools and often it as truthful; therefore it is possible to ensure that students will at least be exposed to these messages.²⁷

Essentially, peace education in primary and secondary school is a key strategy that can be used to build peace and stability in fragile and conflict-ridden

societies. Why primary and secondary schools? Because they are critical centres of learning for youth –where young people make the transition from childhood to adulthood. Formal institutions of learning are environments where the views, values and behaviour of individuals are shaped, developed and solidified. Just as young people at that age can be easily manipulated to utilise violence, they can also be exposed to peace, and to how they can contribute to peaceful societies. Thus it is important that targeted efforts are made to ensure that young people are put on the path to peace.

PEACE EDUCATION AND ETHNO-RELIGIOUS TENSIONS AND VIOLENCE: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

Violence of an ethno-religious character emerges when structures systematically exclude ethnic or religious groups from participating in public policy decisions or contribute to social and economic inequalities between groups.²⁸ This violence can escalate to the point of extremism and ethnic cleansing. Ethnic cleansing involves a deliberate, organised, and usually violent expulsion of people from an area on the basis of their perceived ethnic, communal, sectarian or religious identity.²⁹ In using peace education in this context, there are some key issues that policymakers and practitioners must consider.

Improving enrolment rates

Peace education can only be useful when students are enrolled in schools. Therefore, it is important that children and youth in Plateau State are enrolled in formal institutions of learning. In a speech to the Senate Committee on Education in 2013, Lyop Mang, the Chairperson of the Plateau State Universal Basic Education Board, noted that a total of 750 000 children (approximately one in three children) were out of school in the state.³⁰ She attributed this to: the insecurity, which had affected mobility; the withdrawal of children from schools in areas that experienced high levels of violence; negative attitudes of parents to education; and a preference for their children to work on the farms, because of the lack of jobs for graduates.³¹ On that note, peace education can contribute to lasting peace in Plateau State by strengthening the public education system, which requires ‘compulsory attendance for all children and youth, integrated so students from previously conflicting groups interact with one another and have the opportunity to build positive relationships with each other’.³² The government should

also provide more schools and free education to children, to ensure that everyone has an opportunity to go to school.³³

An important argument for enrolling children in school stems from the widely shared view that when they are not in school, they are easily recruited to engage in violence. Johnson and Johnson state that a lack of educational opportunities is a major motivator to join terrorist and rebel groups in many countries.³⁴ Furthermore, schools are useful environments for reintegrating young people back into society – particularly those who have perpetrated acts of violence.³⁵ Schools provide a space for them to interact with their peers, while building necessary skills that they can later use to contribute to the economy and improve their economic livelihood. However, without a firm handle on recurring staff strikes (in many cases due to failure to pay wages) and without proper controls and monitoring of student activities – especially in public secondary schools – peace education efforts will be futile.

Improving the quality of education and skills development

While peace education is required to help impart and enhance attitudes, knowledge and values that will build commitment and a contribution to peace, education and skills development are necessary to adequately prepare youth to be actively employed. Thus, although peace education imparts universal values, such as peace, tolerance for others, respect for human rights and principles of non-violence, one must also focus on educating students about the benefits of literacy, numeracy, teaching skills and the knowledge needed for self-development.³⁶

The latter point is particularly important, as the quality of education in Plateau State has been on the decline and is not adequately preparing secondary school students for the job market or for higher education. A statement made by Plateau State Governor Jonah Jang noted that a total of 11 000 unqualified teachers (using fake certificates) in both primary and secondary institutions across the state would be released from their posts.³⁷

Peace education as an integral part of peace-building

Education is an important part of peace-building and a key response in rebuilding fragile societies.³⁸ To borrow from the idea that peace education includes ‘teaching about nuclear issues and disarmament ... and teaching about justice, about violence in all its forms, about survival and our future’,³⁹ peace education must be multi-dimensional. It must go beyond

mere matters of security to cover economic, political and psychosocial challenges that are at the root of ethno-religious violence, and cover appropriate responses to those challenges.

Within the context of ethno-religious dynamics, tensions and violence, peace education is also pivotal in dealing with different individuals from different ethnicities and religions. Elisabeth King argues that both schools and the curriculum are important elements in the construction, mobilisation and politicisation of ethnic divisiveness.⁴⁰ Peace education can be used to deconstruct perceptions, demobilise inter-group competition and depoliticise inter-group relations, all of which will have a positive impact on peace-building and conflict prevention efforts.

Desegregation of schools is important for peace education

The segregation of schools according to religion has negative implications for the successful development and implementation of peace education curricula. In Plateau State, for instance, private school systems are mostly linked to specific religions, making the schools less inclusive. Respondents noted that schools have now been divided along religious lines, which contributes to mutual fear and mistrust.⁴¹ One respondent felt that there was an urgent need to reintegrate these institutions and society as a whole.⁴² Johnson and Johnson argue that these systems (developed by religious organisations) can take advantage of:

... children and youth's idealism and commitment to religion, sense of victimisation and social justice, and disaffection with society to teach pro-war ideology and socialise children and youth into beliefs that justify violence as a means of obtaining political and religious goals.⁴³

Segregated schools can therefore increase the perpetuation of stereotypes and destructive societal norms. In practicing and experiencing peace, schools need to be integrated. Johnson and Johnson argue against segregated schools shape the views and perspectives that students have about their specific identity group, particularly because they deepen the differences and hostilities amongst groups, and they ingrain the existing norms, values and attitudes that have shaped and continue to shape the conflict further.⁴⁴ While these religious schools can embed values like tolerance and peace in their students, the utility of this is questioned, especially in the absence of contact or interaction with other groups.⁴⁵ Thus it can be concluded that long-term peace is stalled in segregated societies.⁴⁶

For Elisabeth King, educational content must focus on promoting an ethnically tolerant climate, on legitimate linguistic tolerance, and on similarities and inclusion, rather than difference and exclusion.⁴⁷ It is important that areas of convergence are utilised so that students, irrespective of religion or ethnicity, are able to see the common factors that bind them together.

Improving inter-group interactions is critical

In environments like Plateau State, where schools segregated along religious lines religion are prevalent, it is not enough to integrate schools to allow for contact between students of different religious affiliations: it is important that positive relations and inter-group interactions are actively promoted. To that effect, peace education methodology should involve processes that will ensure that diverse students: work together, co-operatively and without competition, to achieve common goals; interact more on an individual level, where candid conversations may take place; and have support from authority and societal norms in achieving this.⁴⁸

Inter-group contact is a useful approach to reducing prejudice, particularly with children aged between 1 and 12 years.⁴⁹ This also improves attitudes for three key reasons, namely: it increases one's knowledge of the other group; it can increase positive emotions towards that group; and it allows one to tolerate and accept the customs and beliefs of that group.⁵⁰

COMMITMENT IS REQUIRED FOR PEACE EDUCATION

Developing an effective peace education programme and relevant curriculum requires dedicated commitment. In the case of Plateau State, having a specific body to oversee this process is very important. A unit under the management of the Ministry of Education would be well placed to oversee and coordinate peace education efforts and work closely with key stakeholders like civil society organisations and individuals from the University of Jos, the Department of Education, and the Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies (CECOMPS).

While peace education requires massive support from the state, it is important that the state does not have undue influence regarding the curriculum. Thus the process of curriculum development should benefit from the collective input of representatives from academia, think-tanks, CSOs, government, women's groups, youth groups, religious organisations and

inter-ethnic organisations. A gender balance must be ensured as well. Most importantly, there must be political will to see the process through.

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION THEORY IN PEACE EDUCATION THEORY AND PRACTICE

According to Brandon Hamber, education holds a special place in conflict transformation, as it is central in shaping attitudes and social interactions – both of which are critical to addressing legacies of conflict and building peace.⁵¹ Conflict transformation was birthed from the realisation that social conflict moves through certain predictable phases when transforming relationships and social organisation.⁵² The main proponent of conflict transformation, John Lederach, writes that it seeks:

... to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships.⁵³

It can be deduced from this definition that conflict creates an environment for change. Peace education can find relevance in this theoretical approach, as its end goals are the reduction of violence, addressing injustice and transforming relationships. Writing about transforming relationships, and borrowing from Page, it can be argued that peace education itself is concerned with establishing nurturing and supportive relationships.⁵⁴ This is firmly supported by another definition of conflict transformation, which sees it as:

... a complex process of constructively changing relationships, attitudes, behaviours, interests and discourses in violence-prone conflict settings ... addresses underlying structures, cultures and institutions that encourage and condition violent political and social conflict.⁵⁵

In this line of thinking, conflict transformation theory highlights the importance of changing institutions and systems that contribute to disparities, inequalities and violence. It also identifies the relevance of changing views, values and attitudes between groups in such societies. Education is one of many tools that can be used to address structural causes of conflict and inequality. Thus Kotite notes that access to education is a highly symbolic

indicator of equity that is linked to income earning potential and to the ability to diminish inequality.⁵⁶ Peace education is also a way in which education can contribute to changing views, values and attitudes.

Broadly speaking, then, peace education is closely linked with these views and concepts on conflict transformation. Using the definition provided by Fountain, peace education is:

... the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth, and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, inter-group, national or international level.⁵⁷

Based on the aforementioned definitions, peace education and conflict transformation are focused on changing behaviours, responding to the structural causes of conflict and promoting positive inter-group interactions. What requires more reflection and debate is how these ideas and views that have been put forth by conflict transformation theory can be utilised and applied in peace education curricula and methodologies, so that the end goal of conflict transformation is achieved. We now turn our attention to this question.

Developing peace education curricula for Plateau State

Table 14.1 shows a categorisation of key content of peace education curricula for secondary schools in Plateau State. This content is grounded in conflict transformation theory. The themes have been grouped under three key areas, namely *reduction of violence*, *addressing injustice* and *rebuilding relationships* – three key ideas put forth by conflict transformation theory. Following on from this, peace education curricula must broadly assist both primary and secondary school students to:

- i. distinguish between the different forms of violence in Plateau State;
- ii. explain concepts like culture, ethnicity and religion, and how they can be used to incite violence or for greater peace;
- iii. identify commonalities between themselves and other members of their class, school, and communities;

- iv. discuss the root causes of the conflict – economic deprivation, marginalisation and uneven development – while down-playing the ‘religious’ and ‘ethnic’ face of the conflict; and
- v. understand the need for non-violence and apply non-violent strategies to real and abstract scenarios.

During the interviews on the ground, respondents noted a wide range of themes that should be incorporated as part of peace education. They include: teachings on peace and communal existence; the negative effects of violence and why people should not engage in it; empathy studies; and inclusive history as a way to unite students.⁵⁸ One respondent felt that psychological debriefing sessions were needed to remove the culture of violence.⁵⁹ Another noted that lessons could be learned from the cases of Uganda and Sierra Leone, where peace education was used as a tool to teach students about the conflict, involve them in community projects, and thereby identify avenues for possible work in the future.⁶⁰ These suggestions have also been captured in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1: Thematic areas for peace education curricula in secondary schools in Plateau State

Reducing Violence	Addressing Injustice	Rebuilding Relationships
Definitions and forms of violence	Negotiation	Empathy
Definitions and variations of peace	Conflict analysis	Respect
Collective security	Peer mediation	Compassion
Conflict resolution	Conflict mapping	Anger management
Conflict transformation	Communication	Tolerance
Conflict management	Non-violent strategies	Cohesion
Human rights	Leadership	Accountability
Principles of non-violence and non-violent action/ strategies	Team-building	Transparency
Understanding conflict	Coping mechanisms to peacefully manage conflict	Compromise
Armed conflict	Active listening skills	Trust

<i>Ubuntu</i> ⁶¹	Problem solving	Mutual coexistence
Justice: restorative justice, retributive justice	Civic values	Collaboration and cooperation
Citizenship, patriotism and political participation	Justice	Cultural awareness
Alternative dispute resolution	Cooperation and collaboration	Dialogue
Impact of drug use and arms trafficking on peace	Gender dimensions of conflict	Interdependence
		Reconciliation
		Negotiation

A few key themes from Table 15.1 are expanded on below.

1. Definitions and forms of violence

This theme will focus on the three forms of violence expounded by Johan Galtung, namely: direct, structural and cultural violence. It will also involve examining the different levels of violence, from the personal to the international level. Direct violence is physical harm done to others; structural violence is the systematic attack on individuals through the withdrawal or denial of their basic rights, such as work, access to basic amenities, or housing; while cultural violence is the use of ideology or symbolism as a rationale for inflicting violence on others. The use of case studies and examples can be provided to students, to allow them to identify these various forms of violence. Making these distinctions will introduce students to the causes of violence in Plateau State, while debunking myths about differences in religion and ethnicity as the cause of violence. Furthermore, the theme should focus on introducing students to the arguments against violence.

2. Definitions and variations of peace

This will examine both negative and positive peace and engage students in a discussion about what they mean within the context of Plateau State. The theme then opens the space for discussion on how they can be addressed in the short, medium or long term. Discussions under this theme must also focus on the benefits of peace for the state, and particularly on the links between peace and development. Through this exercise, students should be encouraged to develop and discuss their vision of what a peaceful Plateau

State would look like, and how to get there. Such an exchange would allow students to focus on finding common solutions that would unite groups, irrespective of their religion or ethnicity.

3. Peer mediation

In this theme, students are exposed to mediation and, through role plays, trained to handle conflict non-violently. This imparts both a sense of responsibility and the skills needed to handle any conflict that they may face, without having to seek the intervention of an adult. Through these opportunities to mediate, students should also learn how to find commonalities between different views, and identify avenues for cooperation or empathy, which will result in new and positive relationships between adversaries.⁶²

4. Human rights

This will introduce students to the idea of human rights and share the following frameworks with them, for discussion and reflection: the Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenant on Economic and Social Rights, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and global treaties on genocide, women's rights, children's rights and the elimination of racial discrimination. Students could also be introduced to the idea that peace is a human right.⁶³ Discussion and reflection on these frameworks should focus on what human rights mean in the context of Plateau State, and how they can be achieved. In realising that human rights are a 'universal reason and assertion of common humanity',⁶⁴ students will be exposed to the interconnectedness between them and the common values that affect them all as human beings.

5. Understanding conflict and conflict analysis

Students will be introduced to the challenges to peace and the causes of conflict in Plateau State. They will also be informed about issues such as economic inequality, injustice and marginalisation and exclusionary politics. Furthermore, they will be exposed to identifying conflict and its sources in general. Gumut adequately captures this idea, stating that teaching pedagogy should develop 'student's capacity in critical thinking, inquiry, and reflective skills that enable them not only to understand obstacles to peace, but more importantly to develop skills and abilities to confront these issues, envision realistic alternatives and devices and implement strategies for the realisation of alternatives'.⁶⁵ This would help thwart the view that violence is the only option, as students could find alternative ways to resolve conflict and determine how those alternatives could be achieved through these

experiences and opportunities.

6. *Mutual coexistence*

This theme focuses on building mutual support among students while teaching the competencies, attitudes and values needed to build and maintain cooperative systems, resolve conflict constructively and adopt values that promote peace.⁶⁶ Mutual identity can be expressed and experienced through the respect of one's own cultural identity, respecting the cultural identities of others, developing a super-ordinate identity that subsumes all the diverse identities, and basing that super-ordinate identity on a pluralistic set of values.⁶⁷ On that basis, mutual respect, coexistence and tolerance for other groups must be imparted to students, as they work together to find common areas that affect them.

7. *Dialogue*

For John Lederach, dialogue is necessary for conflict transformation by creating and addressing social and public spheres where human institutions, structures, and patterns of relationships are constructed.⁶⁸ Students must understand the need for and importance of dialogue in achieving peaceful outcomes to violent conflict. In preaching dialogue, students must understand that there shouldn't be a focus on winner-loser sentiment, dishonesty or feelings of self-righteousness. Thus Morton argues that in teaching dialogue, communication should not be about competition, but about fostering real connections between individuals and breaking up cultural generalisations that fossilise thinking.⁶⁹ She goes on to write that students can learn of real dialogue which is composed of skills like authenticity, listening, and speaking to connect with others.⁷⁰

Based on a quick survey of scholarly and online resources, a wide range of possible resources that could be used in developing peace education curricula include:

- i. UNESCO's Associated Schools Project, which focuses on themes like World Concerns and the United Nations System, Human Rights and Democracy, Intercultural Learning, and Environmental Issues. According to Amamio, many schools need to be encouraged to participate in an initiative such as this, which targets primary and secondary schools.⁷¹
- ii. The Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (CO-PRED), founded in May 1970 in Boulder, Colorado.
- iii. The United Nations' University for Peace (UPEACE) strengthens education for peace in Africa as a useful resource for developing curricula.

- iv. The UNHCR Peace Education Programme Kit developed in 2000.
- v. Sierra Leone's Peace Education Kit: In the case of the Sierra Leone Peace Education Kit Project, each lesson included timeframes, objectives, preparation methods, required resources, methodology, student activities, assessments, and other possible follow-up lessons and activities.⁷²
- vi. The Peace Education Foundation – www.peaceeducation.org.

These existing resources must be tailored to meet the needs and particularities of the context in Plateau State. It is not a one-size-fits-all approach. Lessons from Sierra Leone show that steps were taken to gather information on the various peace education resources that were already in use in the country, to share best practices from various stakeholders in the formal and non-formal education sectors, and to obtain information on the challenges still being faced at the community level. Following from the case of Sierra Leone, peace education materials must: be inclusive of local input and cultural content; be able to stand alone and be integrated into the broader syllabus; be flexible and suitable for use in informal as well as school settings; be sensitive to indigenous languages; be written for community workers as well as teachers; be owned by the stakeholders; and have student activities integrated into teacher training modules.⁷³

Peace educators

The role of peace educators becomes critical in peace education, as they are involved in shaping and influencing the minds of young secondary school students to commit to peace. In attempting to sell the message of peace, they must personally embrace it and show an individual commitment to achieving peace. Hutchinson writes that 'for a teacher to take a class in peace studies whilst brandishing a cane would be a contradictory process'.⁷⁴ He further adds that the positive benefits of peace education can be reversed if the learning environments 'involve aggressive competition, little or no participation on the part of the learner, lack of dialogue between the learner and the teacher, and other forms of direct and structural violence'.⁷⁵ Peace can be introduced through the 'way lessons are taught, how student-student and student-teacher conflicts are managed, decisions are made, and intellectual conflicts are resolved'.⁷⁶ As Page argues, through nurturing and supportive relationships between teachers and students, and institutions and students at all levels, individuals learn peace.⁷⁷

Likewise, peace educators must be conflict-sensitive, so that they do not further divide students. It is also important that they work closely with

students in understanding the impact of violence on their communities.⁷⁸ Obateru states that because students have felt the impact of the conflict, it has been established that their role in finding lasting solutions to the crisis is equally important.⁷⁹

The capacity of teachers, specifically peace educators, needs to be developed to adequately present peace education curricula. Borrowing from the case of South Africa, building capacity could involve 'special teacher workshops', which introduce customised and locally inspired teacher packages focused on key thematic areas.⁸⁰ In addition, resources could be funnelled into providing principals and teachers with in-service training opportunities, focusing on peaceful classroom management, peace education, conflict resolution, and cooperative learning strategies.⁸¹

But beyond peace educators or psychologists, peace education should be a concern for all professional teachers.⁸² While peace educators play an important role, all teachers in secondary schools are needed to promote peace education through their attitude and behaviour. Peace education is not just focusing on teaching theory, but practicing the principles and values that are inherent in it. Teachers should be an example of this.

Selecting teachers to teach peace education is very important, especially in cases like Plateau State, where ethnicity and religion are strong factors in political appointments and employment. Selection criteria should be based on merit and the commitment of personnel to seeing peace achieved across all levels. In addition, there is a need for well-trained and experienced peace educators who are versed in psychology. This is because they will, more than likely, have to interact with children who have been raised in violent environments or have engaged in violent acts. Thus, psychologists are also well placed to handle these students, as they have relevant training.

Methodology

Peace education can achieve success when there is alignment between objectives, content and methodology.⁸³ The methodology must therefore be designed, not to fuel conflict, but to promote the ideals of peace education. Furthermore, it is useful for peace education to be carried out in a relaxed setting that encourages reflection, interaction and participation, rather than the more standard, formalised teacher/pupil relationship.⁸⁴ This is because of the nature of the issues being discussed in this subject. Also, peace education curricula should be based on experiential learning.⁸⁵ Within this setup, the following methodologies could be used in various forms across the different classes at the secondary school level.

1. Visual art

Visual art can be used as a peace education tool to promote peace and motivate people. For example, the use of drama and dance has been used with children in peace education in Sierra Leone.⁸⁶

2. Peace clubs

Peace clubs are mechanisms for interaction and debate, and could be used to develop and carry out community initiatives.⁸⁷ These clubs could also be created to discuss issues of peace⁸⁸ and as spaces for peer-reflection and inter-group interaction, thereby fostering mutual affinity.

3. Extra-curricular activities

The use of extra-curricular activities, such as soccer matches and other sports activities can bring together schools across religious and ethnic divides. The messages of peace and coexistence can be shared in these forums.

4. Case studies

Case studies that try to highlight non-violent approaches and successful conflict resolution efforts without the use of violence can be developed for students at various stages in secondary school. This will demonstrate to students the various possibilities for effective peaceful resolution of conflict. Case studies can be developed from other contexts, like Indonesia and Sri Lanka, which have their own versions of identity dynamics and ethno-religious violence. In utilising case studies, methodologies must be participatory and reflective, rather than depository. This means that cases must be presented in a way that allows students to develop skills in critical analysis and to apply potential solutions to cases of conflict and violence. This will also give students the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the causes and the consequences of conflict, on which basis they can create effective solutions to resolve the conflict.

5. Joint literacy and peace projects

Peace literacy programmes have been used in Plateau State as part of extramural lessons, with the aim of improving literacy amongst children and instilling attitudes and skills that can be used to encourage and establish peaceful coexistence.⁸⁹ A study concluded that reading storybooks that focus thematically on peace is a good methodology for fostering the development of skills and attitudes related to peaceful coexistence.⁹⁰ Through individual and group readings and discussions amongst Muslim and Christian children, students are introduced to themes on peace and questioned

about how this applies to Jos.⁹¹ At the secondary school level, this can also be accomplished through English or Literature classes reflecting and incorporating peace issues.

6. Media

Resources like videos and printed cartoons can be used to for discussion and reflection on issues like coexistence, tolerance, cohesion and mutual respect.

7. Role play

Fictional or factual scenarios can be utilised in forums in which students are encouraged to practice negotiation, mediation and arbitration skills, and to identify non-violent responses to conflict. Teaching secondary school students how to identify and apply non-violent action through these scenarios will contribute further to a culture of peace and non-violence.⁹² This is in line with the view expressed by a respondent that education can be used to instil a culture of non-violence.⁹³ In addition, anger, violence and revenge (as forms of response) are further dispelled in exercises like these. Role plays can also be used to introduce students to concepts like integrative negotiation and peer mediation in constructively resolving conflict.⁹⁴

8. Cooperative learning

Johnson and Johnson propose the idea of cooperative learning, which is an approach used to help students develop common goals and identities irrespective of their differences.⁹⁵ This instructional use of small groups, where students work together to maximise their own and each other's learning, will contribute further to positive inter-group relations, if managed properly. It will establish a feeling of mutuality and common fate that highlights mutual goals, the just distribution of benefits from achieving the goals, and a common identity.⁹⁶ The three types of cooperative learning are: formal cooperative learning, informal cooperative learning and cooperative base groups.⁹⁷ (See Table 15.2.)

Table 15.2: Cooperative learning⁹⁸

Formal Cooperative Learning	Informal Cooperative Learning	Cooperative base groups
Students working together to achieve a joint learning goal	Students working together to achieve a joint learning goal	Long-term, heterogeneous cooperative learning groups with stable membership
One class period or for several weeks	Temporary and ad-hoc groups	Members provide support, advice and assistance, and encourage each other in making academic progress
Shared learning goals	Lasts for a few minutes or one class period	Provides long-term care and peer support
Completion of specific tasks and assignments focused on a wide range of issues	Engagement in 3–5-minute discussions before and after teaching; or partner to partner, 2–3-minute discussions throughout the lecture period	Lasting for one semester or more
Examples: decision-making, problem solving, writing a report		

9. Discussions

Discussions are avenues that allow students to share their views and perspectives on issues of peace. In small or large groups, discussions could focus on civic duties and responsibilities, and on issues of justice, cooperation and collaboration, among others. Discussion and reflection on civic values, for instance, should be centred on the long-term common good of society.⁹⁹

10. Non-formal extramural tutoring

This has been offered at no cost to students, in both primary and secondary schools in the Kwararafa community of Plateau State, in four key areas: computer skills, English, mathematics and writing skills.¹⁰⁰ This tutoring service caters to both Muslims and Christians who live in the area, in an effort to build reconciliation and develop the community.

FACTORS TO CONSIDER IN DEVELOPING PEACE EDUCATION CURRICULA

During the fieldwork, a few respondents noted that peace education curricula were needed in every school. In developing peace education curricula, one must take into account the diversity of students in secondary schools in Plateau State. Because of the conflicts in the state, it can be expected that students will include children and youth who have experienced trauma from the conflicts, orphans who lost parents during the violent clashes, and possibly some youngsters who have engaged in violence in one way or another. Due to the close linkages in terms of religion and ethnicity, students will be from different ethnic groups but share the same religion, or vice versa.

Kotite argues that education is the single most important policy lever for any government to increase social cohesion.¹⁰¹ Thus the Plateau State Government must lead efforts to roll out a comprehensive peace education programme. At the University of Jos, there already exists a compulsory second year level course, titled 'Peace and Conflict Resolution', which is a worthy step in peace education. However, the primary and secondary levels are still lacking this tailored content. This will require the development of curricula, as they do not exist in the state at the time of writing.

Presently, civil society organisations, religious organisations and individuals conduct peace education on an ad-hoc basis, and with small groups. However, Dunn argues that while individual efforts of this nature are useful and invaluable, a more coherent, coordinated and holistic approach led by government will ensure legitimacy, systematisation and institutionalisation of the peace education process.¹⁰² A state policy on peace education that caters to both public and private secondary schools in Plateau State is an important step. The Ministry of Education should play a central role in coordinating and monitoring peace education curricula at all secondary schools.

Borrowing from Dovey, a possible state response would be the creation of a body to formulate a Peace Education blueprint that would give attention to the promotion, development, implementation and evaluation of educational endeavours of a formal, informal, non-formal, and community character, in a coordinated and structured manner.¹⁰³ At the time of the fieldwork, a proposal for peace education had finally been submitted to the state by CSOs and academics (after numerous attempts to present it to the state through various channels); but, according to one respondent, no action has been taken.¹⁰⁴

A contentious area is specifically how much discussion of or reflection on the past needs to be included in peace education. This raises an important question with regard to peace education pedagogy – that is the

extent to which the past needs to be discussed and understood in allowing children to move forward.¹⁰⁵ This is because, for some children, more hurt and damage could be caused and conflict could emerge between students.¹⁰⁶ A solution that was proposed in the case of Liberia was to address trauma indirectly through case studies, as a subtle way to discuss it, while noting that both teachers and students have been exposed to trauma.¹⁰⁷ One could therefore argue that, just as conflict transformation pushes forward the idea of constructive change, peace education must be forward-looking as well. Thus peace education curricula should go through a rigorous and comprehensive process of review, to ensure it is forward-looking in objectives, content and methodology.

Broadly speaking, possible hesitations could emerge with regard to peace education curricula and their inclusion in secondary schools. Such hesitations could relate to a range of concerns, from interference of peace education with other subjects and the formal learning process, to packed teaching schedules and resource limitations.¹⁰⁸ Another important factor to consider is the approach used to include peace education in the secondary school curricula. According to Fien, while peace education should be a cross-curricular feature of all subjects in the school curriculum – and not a separate subject studied only at specifically allocated time-slots – realistically implementing the former, particularly at the secondary school level, would be a very challenging exercise.¹⁰⁹ He attributes these challenges to the fact that secondary schools are defined by competitive academic curricula, characterised by strong demarcation between subjects and inflexible timetables.¹¹⁰

However, Fien explores how a subject like geography can incorporate elements of peace education, a notion which he describes as ‘peaceful geography’; and Gumut writes about how other subjects, like religion, history, science, music and fine art, can be used as media to promote reflections on peace and instil values, skills and knowledge that are central to peace education.¹¹¹ Dovey recommends that peace education should ‘ideally be accommodated in the whole school curriculum, with the approach being both subject-oriented and integrative (creating dimensions that provide an opportunity to explore issues in different ways, with different groups, and in any subject)’.¹¹² This is in line with a proposal on peace education submitted to the government of Plateau State, which calls for its inclusion at all levels of the curriculum and its infusion into English, Religious Studies and Social Studies.¹¹³ In the same vein, a respondent noted that peace education should be multi-disciplinary. Because peace education has not yet been formalised and curricula have not been approved by the government in Plateau

State, efforts must start with developing a separate subject, which will later become multi-disciplinary, cutting across all subjects.

CONCLUSION

Peace education cannot happen in a vacuum. While there is a strong argument for its role in and contribution to peace-building, this is not enough. Sustainable peace requires a change in the political, social and economic structures that have systematically led to the exclusion and marginalisation of key groups, resulting in violence. The structural causes of the conflict that has existed for so long and has become embedded in the systems of governance must be transformed. Thus, peace cannot be expected to flourish in a system where the underlying causes of conflict are left to fester.

Ultimately, peace education is not just useful for imparting relevant and functional content, values and skills: it can also help to enable students to personally and individually embrace peace as a lifestyle. One can argue that if human beings have been engineered – by society, the media, religious institutions and families – to embrace violence, they can also be re-engineered to embrace non-violence. Peace education can contribute greatly to that transformation.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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Conclusion

The Editors

We, the editors, were humbled once we neared the culminating moment of this project, because our contributors' deliberation, thoughtfulness and the resulting chapters exceeded the boundaries that we initially proposed. The ambitious aim of this volume became even more apparent than when the idea for book was imagined and outlined. The contributors to this work responded well to the charge of linking theory-to-practice-to-theory, and have offered important insights for further deliberation.

Consequently, this chapter is to serve as the launching pad for future state-of-the-art volumes on Peace Education and Education for Peace. The time-frame for such volumes is not yet determined, but the charge will remain the same: deeply considered theory that will advance practice and promote further theoretical considerations. Such is the reality that has emerged from the previous chapters: we have not yet identified the unlocking key to the most worthy of all human endeavours – peaceful human security for African women, children and men. The contributors' ideas have substantiated this reality: we are on the path toward innovative approaches, but we have not reached our final point.

During the sojourn of this publication, the notion of 'The Big Questions' emerged. Big Questions serve humanity well to move beyond the mundane, the routine, and the mind numbing repetitions of daily life. Rather, the Big Questions urge us to give joy of life its proper value in our endeavour and to become 'Better Angels' for our *eudaimonia* – that is, earthly human flourishing. The Big Questions congealed after editing each contributor's independently written chapter. Indeed, during the one and only contributors' colloquium, in November 2013, did each author learn about the other contributors' proposed ideas, but each contributor wrote in solitude in their distant quarters, miles away from each other. The Big Questions appeared separately after the editors read the revised collection of chapters.

The first Big Question, revealed in the first section of the book, was: *Is our human organisation suited for community organising and competence development in our fragile African societies? And, acknowledging that there are several African contexts, what are the transformative elements*

for promoting and pursuing the shared universal value of peace that can be achieved through peace education and education for peace? Boniface Bwanyire, Fanie du Toit and Magnus Haavelsrud's chapters collectively prompted these questions when considering the weighty matters of *universality, specific cultural context and history*.

To reiterate, Bwanyire's chapter argues persuasively that peace is a value that abides within all communities. Most significantly, peace, as a value, is universal. However, as one observes the contemporary world, Boniface's assertion might, on the surface, be challenged by the constant barrage of seemingly intractable conflicts around Africa and many parts of the world. Nevertheless, his chapter proposes contemporary post-modern approaches of *interrogation, deconstruction, reconstruction, and demystification of modernist/colonialist narratives* as humanistic tools for excavating through the overlays of time to recover peace as a universal value. In what ways these tools might make a difference is, of course, a critical question.

As noted in the first Big Question, there is a need to question or interrogate many notions about peace, peace education and education for peace. Such interrogation has the potential to reveal that once widely-held beliefs are indeed naïve and without substantial reasonable support. For instance, during the last 50 years, '*narratives of return*' – a term coined by Christian Gade – written by early post-colonial African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Leopold Senghor, Kenneth Kaunda and many others are now becoming a reality for contemporary Africa, as evidenced in the African Union's Agenda 2063.¹ These mid-twentieth-century African leaders' questioning was instrumental in their conceptualising of what Africa could be and how the people might return to the values of earlier times and practices – that is, the *return*. In Agenda 2063, such interrogation will be equally as important to advancing to the next stage in Africa's Renaissance, and Peace as a fundamental value for achieving the *return* and advancing to a flourishing African future.

Deconstruction and especially reconstruction are essential making-a-difference tools in this quest to recover peace as a fundamental value in African nations. Agenda 2063 once again functions well to illustrate the point: it fully and wisely acknowledges that the cultural violence of the colonialist 1884–85 Berlin Conference must be deconstructed to understand the actions of European and African leaders during the devastation of African communities. With probing *deconstruction* analysis, the mistakes of the past can be recognised, and this will also allow for searching for the root causes of cultural violence as well as conjecturing about the behaviour of African leaders of that time. Fuelled with such knowledge, *reconstruction*

for ways forward can be conceived of which embrace the indigenous knowledge that Bwanyire references. Through indigenous and contemporary knowledge, which is based on probing *interrogation*, the potential for moving ever closer to life-affirming practices through peace education can be achieved – and the persistence of colonial/colonialised thinking will be unravelled and ultimately demystified, in order to realise peace from within.

Magnus Haavelsrud connects well with understanding the quest for uncovering obscured peace within African cultural communities. Imaginatively, his chapter highlights the manner in which fiction reveals contextual factors of particular times. While Haavelsrud focuses on contemporary South Africa, this approach of examining literature holds promise for learning about the specific contextual ‘knowledge’ that any community citizen around the globe needs to employ over time for understanding cultural continuity and day-to-day existence. At the same time, such literature explicates the layering that contributes to the diminution of peace as a value.

Haavelsrud’s chapter provides critical understanding of the learning/teaching that is occurring in informal settings. Herein is one of the significant making-a-difference tools for all those interested in education for peace and peace education: that is, of course, that young learners start acquiring the tools for life from their surroundings from the time they are born. However, rarely do community members realise how such learning may be undermining young learners’ nascent and emerging values. This chapter provides working knowledge of the undermining process, as well as ways to address the resultant potentially negative outcomes.

As for the Big Question concerning transformative elements, Haavelsrud’s assertion about Freireian *conscientisation* is vitally important. In education for peace, *learning* to perceive the social, political and economic *contradictions* in one’s specific context and engaging in *praxis* – that is, careful reflection and mindful actions – to alter the situation to better humankind is truly the transformative act that will be most useful. *Conscientisation* requires a willingness to become conscious of one’s own consciousness and then to participate in purposeful dialogue: it is here that informal learning contexts and formal contexts can meet in order to raise consciousness about peace as a living, thriving value. In order to advance toward *praxis* – that is, to think deeply and reflectively and then to take mindful actions – dialogue becomes a vital tool for creating generative and transformative interactions to reject the various forms of violence in our daily living contradictions.

In his chapter, Fanie du Toit states:

Apartheid denied the fundamental interdependence of black and white children. Instead it proposed separateness as a political and social ideal. From this position, with little traction in reality, a 'factual' conclusion was drawn: South Africans belong apart because they were *fundamentally irreconcilable* within one society.

This quotation captures the precise type of contradiction that eroded the fabric of an entire society under the misguided stewardship that purported that 'Christian Nationalism' was in the best peaceful interests of all South Africans. This chapter immediately acknowledges the first proposed Big Question regarding human organisation: as is evident today, the Nationalist Party 'stewards' clearly pursued a culturally and physically violent course of practice that promoted greater human misery for all South Africans.

Building on experience from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and now its offspring, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), Du Toit places the South African people at the heart of his discussion. The 'interdependence of black and white children' that he writes about underscores an element that is often missing in our human organisation and transformation of daily existence into peaceful living. Equally significant, drawing from Nietzsche's writing, he convincingly argues that *critical history* – rather than antiquarian history, which is focused purely on history for history's sake, or monumental history, which most of us know from high school and college, in which the heroes of particular times and events are revered – provides windows into understanding current accountability for the past. Du Toit asserts that critical history would serve many post-conflict African societies and the type of transitional justice that is needed. In essence, the making-a-difference factor that this chapter advances is that *critical history is peace education*.

Writing about the origins of second-wave feminism, bell hooks professed:

Everything we do in life is rooted in theory. Whether we consciously explore the reasons we have a particular perspective or take a particular action, there is also an underlying system shaping the thought and practice. In its early inception, feminist theory had as its primary goal explaining to women and men how sexist thinking worked and how we could challenge and change it.

In those days most of us had been socialized by parents and society to accept sexist thinking. We had not taken time to figure out the roots of our perceptions.²

Indeed, hooks' astute remarks quite appropriately speak to this volume's pursuit of theory-making to guide peace education and education for peace practices and thinking. It is also instructive that hooks' comments did not appear until 1984, long after the women's movement had begun in several parts of the world. In other words, it is never too late to re-commit to new ways of thinking, knowing and behaving. Accordingly, Bwanyire, Haavelsrud and Du Toit's chapters begin the editors' journey toward new ways of constructing theory and knowledge about peace education and education for peace through future inquiries.

Though the outward appearance in most African countries is that of calm, the reality is that there is also awareness among only a few careful observers of a constant rumbling that is not easily identified and named by the larger community. The second Big Question is then: *What critical knowledge will allow Africans to transcend the ever-present chronic violence in their lives and compel them to reject and eliminate violence as a viable trajectory?* Crispin Hemson, Phindile Olorunju-Lukhele, Tony Karbo and Sidonia Angom continue with this volume's theory-making and practice thrust, by naming the insidiousness and pervasive presence of violence in communities.

Hemson's chapter builds on a recent publication by Tani Adams on the growing matter of chronic violence in many parts of Latin America, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. According to Adams and Hemson's analyses, chronic violence is a twenty-first-century issue that has the potential of leading to increasing xenophobia and scape-goating of marginalised citizens in developing democracies. Adams' six propositions reveal the 'hunker-down' mentality that is being fuelled by the 'perverse effects of mass media' – that is, that there is a minority of perpetrators maintaining chronic violence and a majority of victims. In turn, intergenerational messages are conveyed regarding perpetrators and victims, citizens limit their activity in democratic processes, and burdens intersectoral and interdisciplinary systems within societies, thus creating a self-perpetuation of violence.

The make-a-difference factor that emerges from this chapter is that attending to the disruptive effects of chronic violence may be a necessary first step before immersing learners into peace education and education for peace discussions. As a first step, learners who may be participating consciously or unconsciously in perpetuating chronic violence could begin a self-inventory. As Hemson noted from Gandhi, we all have the capacity for violence. With such self-knowledge, one aspect of the Big Question is faced – that is, identifying ways of beginning to reject and possibly eliminating

violence as a viable trajectory. Further, greater theoretical knowledge – another part of the second Big Question – about Adams' observations about chronic violence could prepare educators regarding ways of revealing, naming and addressing chronic violence.

In her chapter, Olorunju-Lukhele discusses and illustrates a form of chronic violence that is seen but responded to ineptly. The future of peace education and education for peace is heavily dependent on effective inter-generational interaction. Such a future is premised on adults assuming their proper role in providing guidance to their children and others in the community. However, Olorunju-Lukhele uncovers a troubling contradiction: in an effort to exercise the best practices of human rights, it appears that parents and guardians are not clear about ways of nurturing, disciplining, and guiding today's children. Olorunju-Lukhele fervently calls for a reassessment of parenting responsibilities in the new cultural environment of Human and Children's Rights.

As for the making-a-difference discussion, Olorunju-Lukhele's chapter subtly points out that as our societies mature in cognitive sophistication and yield such important social changes as new ways to understand human and children's rights, they must also find the right mediating cultural factors that do not lead to *unanticipated cultural violence*. One reason that cultures are often deliberate in the change process is to allow for mediation and insightful incorporation of new ways. Cultural and historical mediation is an important concept as we develop peace education theory and practice. Though not new, this chapter also demonstrates the critical role that those who are not professionally charged with peace education teaching/learning, such as teachers, clergy and community leaders, play important roles in the intergenerational reduction, rejection and elimination of violent trajectories.

While Olorunju-Lukhele's chapter considers the issue of violence in the urban setting, Sidonia Angom's chapter situates her discussion in the pastoral regions of Karamoja, in north-eastern Uganda. However, they both address a phenomenon involving larger and sometimes invisible societal forces that are often easily missed when discussing peace education and education for peace. In Angom's discussion, the focus centres on Ugandan citizens who have long-standing connections to and practices of a social past that the Karamojong are wary of abandoning. Her chapter, like Olorunju-Lukhele's, reverberates with the effects of time and place: that is, though in different geographical locations, the impact of the temporal echoes from the historical culture, whether in the rural areas or the urban setting. As such, the make-a-difference factor for peace education and education for peace is that the influences of time-honoured practices and thinking should

not be easily dismissed or ignored. Every effort should be taken to seek the wisdom of community leaders and elders to appreciate the reason to heed the admonition of the African proverb: *'If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together.'* It is apt that this African proverb has resonance for those who are pursuing peace education, since it speaks to both time (going fast) and place (going far).

Regarding the Big Question, this chapter zeroes in on the role that government must exercise when incorporating historically viable communities. With communities that have survived, and in some instances thrived, government can deliver peace education through meaningful informal learning processes. Principally through practicable and feasible alternatives, those who have survived through violent confrontation begin to learn to reject and eliminate violent trajectories.

Tony Karbo's discussion of refugees and displaced persons living in camps in the Horn of Africa is yet another important context in which peace education and education for peace practices should be understood. As with Olorunju-Lukhele and Angom, Karbo focuses outside of the formal classroom setting in which peace education might be systematically addressed. As he illustrates, people who are not within mainstream society also need ways of developing the practices of peace education – and possibly more so than those who are situated in the formal classroom. This need may be more acute when resource scarcity is the source of conflict within refugee camps.

From this chapter, the make-a-difference take-away is Karbo's examination of African traditional peace-building practices in challenging environments, such as refugee camps. The value of this study is that it allowed for further interrogation of existing peace education and conflict transformation theory. In essence, Karbo's research adds to the traditional practice education discourse in that it lessens the tendency to romanticise inappropriately about ideas whose time may have come and gone. Indirectly, his research is a call for updating *Ubuntu*.

Hemson, Olorunju-Lukhele and Karbo offer useful make-a-difference ideas that can serve theory-making and practical considerations about approaches to peace education and education for peace. More importantly, their ideas suggest directions for responding to the Big Question about individuals rejecting and eliminating violence in their daily existence.

Practitioners, researchers and policymakers have increasingly recognised the difficulty of evaluating the impacts of peace education and education for peace initiatives within the traditional cause-effect paradigm.³ The making-a-difference impacts are often visible only long after a

programme is completed. They are difficult to attribute to a particular initiative, because they occur far along the ‘results chain’, and thus are difficult to separate from other influences. Consequently, systems thinking concepts, methods and tools provide a useful alternative to comprehend peace education and education for peace programme impacts – despite the absence of direct causal relationships to (and the direct attribution of) impacts, and despite the difficulty of isolating the effects of programmes from the various actors with which they interact, and from other factors that influence the transformation of a conflict.⁴

Thus, to be true to the promise of exploring practice (theory-to-practice-to-theory), the third Big Question then is: *What are contemporary best practices - tested practices that can yield scalable interventions around the continent? What is within each of these practices that can generate more creative and forward-thinking advances? What is the impact on peace?* Beverly Kingston, Pamela Machakanja, Yvonne Sliep, Lynn Norton and Nirmala Gopal illuminate specific dimensions of change and characteristics of peace strategies that support positive peace impacts.⁵

Kingston avers that implementation science – *as a recognised active process that can be done intentionally, studied in practice, and supported by funders and governments* – is helping us to understand what is needed to effectively implement and scale interventions. The formula for success arrived at when effective programmes are implemented using effective implementation strategies within an enabling context, as illustrated in the equation below.⁶ Accordingly, it is a multiplication equation and if any part of it equals zero, positive outcomes are less likely to be achieved.

$$\text{Effective Programmes} \times \text{Effective Implementation} \times \text{Enabling Context} \\ = \text{Positive Outcomes}$$

All three components of the equation are necessary to achieve socially significant outcomes (e.g. reduced violence or social emotional learning). Thus, fostering an enabling context for implementation across the different implementation stages requires a focus on building capacity for quality implementation across multiple levels (individual, organisational, community, provincial/state, national).

Machakanja emphasises that formal and informal learning-teaching contexts are challenged to provide an environment in which each learner can feel physically and psychologically safe from threats and danger and

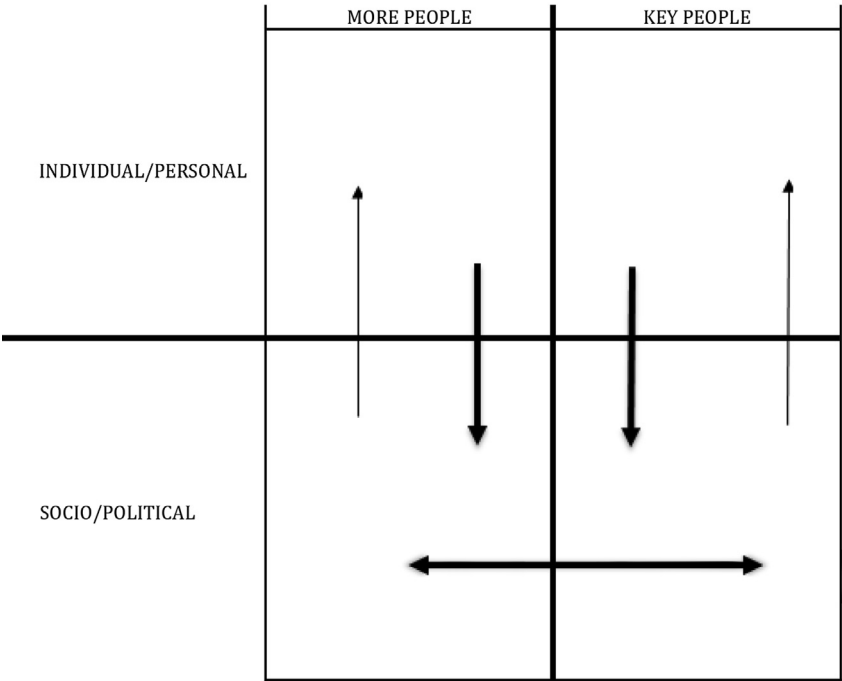
find opportunities to learn with others, for the mutual achievement of all. Accordingly, feminist and intersectional perspectives constitute a peace strategy that informs how constructive teaching and learning can take place in environments affected by war and violence. This ingenuity lies in promoting cooperative, experiential learning and non-violent approaches to resolving conflicts. From peace activism to environmental, health, gender and education activism, Machakanja highlights how the making-a-difference enterprise of peace education and education for peace is impacting different communities on the continent by transforming individual and society level inter-group relationships in Burundi, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Sliep, Norton and Gopal discuss findings from critical narrative reflexivity research processes to create possibilities to help communities trapped in intractable violence move forward. Critical narrative reflexivity can leverage ingenious ways to help us see ourselves and each other more clearly in the world, and how we position ourselves in relation to any particular problem. The making-a-difference factor lies in the more fluid transformation of relationships to increase the awareness of self and others and our interdependence. Within a dialogical reflexive space, we can imagine a future, starting here and now with what we have got. We discover what is possible and visualise a future. Indeed, demarcating a violence-free zone through painting walls and wrapping trees is not enough on its own. We have to inhabit that space, through ourselves, with the help of others. Often problems take us into unknown terrain. By using creative methods and developing safe spaces, we can explore the problem through a lens of critical narrative reflexivity. We can map the intentions and effects of the problem as our past and current abilities and resources. We can take a position on the map and decide the direction into which we want to move towards a vision and expressed hope. Without a map we can lose the plot, but we have to remember that the map is not the terrain.

In terms of what is within each of these practices that can generate more creative and forward-thinking advances, Kingston affirms Tony Karbo's wisdom and concludes that successfully supporting capacity development 'can generate more creative and forward-thinking advances', and this requires a broader systems perspective that builds infrastructure at the local level by involving grassroots, [the state] and community-based agencies in the process.⁷ Indeed, peace education and education for peace programmes that make-a-difference derive from initiatives that achieve not only individual/personal level changes in attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and individual relationships, but link and extend beyond into changes at the socio-political

level, including social mobilisation, shifts in social norms, public opinion, institutional reforms, new laws and policies, or improved group-level relationships. The Reflecting on Peace Practice Project (RPP) demonstrated some time ago that effective interventions that make a difference are rooted in good conflict analysis, programme design and strategies.⁸

Figure 16.1: RPP Matrix: Dimensions of Change in Peace Education Strategies



The arrows indicate the needed linkages in the system from the Individual/Personal Level to the Socio-Political Level and from More People to Key People, and vice versa.

SOURCE: Adaptation from Woodrow and Chigas, in D. Korppen, H. Giessman and N. Ropers (eds.), 2011, p.219.

As demonstrated in Figure 16.1 above, the dimensions of change in peace education enterprise adopt common strategies for achieving impact along

two integrated dimensions, namely: *who* needs to be engaged; the *level of change* promoted.⁹

- i. **Who** needs to be engaged for peace includes:
 - a. **More People** strategies aim to increase the number of people involved in human security processes, in the belief that engaging a critical mass of the population will leverage cultural peace;
 - b. **Key People** strategies focus on involving particular people or groups who are critical to the transition dynamics, who are able to decide or strongly influence decisions for or against peace, and who are able to undermine peace.
- ii. **Levels of Change** include:
 - a. **Individual/Personal** change strategies seek to alter attitudes, skills, values, perceptions, relationships or circumstances of individuals, based on the underlying assumption that peace becomes possible when people's hearts, minds and behaviour are transformed;
 - b. **Socio-political** change strategies are based on the conviction that peace requires progress in socio-political structures and processes, such as policies, legislation, structures and institutions, social norms, collective behaviour and inter-group relations.

Key People refers to individuals and groups, who have the power to decide, influence or spoil progress towards human security and peaceful relationships.¹⁰ Correspondingly, programmes that focus on engaging *More People* in peace education and education for peace enterprise do not add up to effective and making-a-difference peace work, unless they link strategically to or influence *Key People*.

The Steps to Success project in a neighbourhood in Denver, Colorado, illustrates how Communities That Care (CTC) can be used as a guiding framework to engage and organise the community to build an infrastructure of effective social emotional learning and violence prevention programmes at the local level. CTC integrates all three critical components of the formula for success – viz. effective programmes, effective implementation and enabling context – into a flexible community-based strategic approach that connects prevention science to grassroots community organising. At the core of CTC is a long-term commitment to focus on what communities truly need, while staying true to the key elements of prevention science. CTC facilitates a change process that embeds and sustains effective, well-defined interventions in real world settings.

Sports and recreational programmes in Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone that are part of peace education programmes, involve youth in processes aimed at building trust, cohesion, sportsmanship, teambuilding, cooperation and decision making skills. In Zimbabwe, the life skills education programme, Zimbabwe AIDS Action Programme for Schools, is a feminist peace strategy that allows young people to translate knowledge, skills and values into action. As a coping strategy, it helps children and young people to be competent in dealing with the challenges of every-day life.

Such life skills include cooperation, negotiation, empathy, self-awareness, critical and creative thinking, dealing with peer pressure, risk awareness, assertiveness and preparation for the world of work. Land-mine awareness in Angola and advocating for peace through education campaigns such as Malala Peace Fund have been used as powerful tools to push for social change as a way of empowering girls or children who fall victim to exploitation and domestic violence. Further, as a way of raising awareness about peace and conflict issues, youth in Rwanda compete in exhibitions by developing an education for peace logo, and in playwriting competitions aimed at developing critical thinking through story-writing based on their war and peace-building experiences. In Liberia, exhibitions are used to showcase children's drawings about the effects of armed conflict, and as a way of opening spaces for dialogue on peace.

To reach peace, we need to teach peace.¹¹ And peace education is an essential component of quality basic education.¹² The fourth Big Question then is: *What is the 'how' and 'what' of the teaching-learning approaches that will be compatible with the goals of peace education and education for peace, and that are holistic, participatory, cooperative, experiential and humanistic?* Martha Mutisi, Olga Bialostocka and Dorcas Ettang explore peace education and education for peace endeavours in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Nigeria.

It is evident that contemporary education in Africa is inadequate in several ways. It is therefore crucial that to achieve Agenda 2063 and the pan-African dream of a peaceful and prosperous Africa, peace education and education for peace should embrace a multi-dimensional orientation that ensures the liberation of the individual, leading to the attainment of self-reliance. The character of such peace education: reflects and sustains national priorities, aims and aspirations to reject violence as a viable trajectory; encourages social justice; asks *what* and *why*, focusing on goals of innovation; and promotes inter-dependence. It is compulsory for government to uphold personal dignity, free expression, religious tolerance, the right to own property, freedom of association, transparency, the rule of

law, justice, and enabling a free market economy to guarantee stability and peace.

The making-a-difference factor, therefore, is when the peace education enterprise is adapted according to the social and cultural context and the country's needs and aspirations. The effective resourcefulness of such teaching-learning cannot be achieved without intentional, sustained and systematic peace education that leverages cultural peace.¹³ Mutisi highlights how *intentional and sustained* enterprise of the Peace and Leadership Education Program for Zimbabwean Universities, launched in 2003 by the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance (IPLG) at Africa University, is *adding-up*. She asserts that 12 universities, including Africa University, are currently participating in this programme. From its conceptualisation in 2003, the Peace and Leadership Education programme has targeted university administrators, lecturers and researchers to develop curricula for Peace and Leadership Education, and to design course content, as well as strategies, for teaching the courses in this area.

The *how* (methodology) of the Big Question should include critical thinking, reflection and participation as key elements that should be integrated into the pedagogy of all teaching at all levels of education. Thus peace education and education for peace do not simply mean learning about conflicts and how to resolve them peacefully; it should also involve the participation of young people in expressing their own ideas and cooperating with each other in order to eliminate violence at individual, community and society level.¹⁴ The cultural and spiritual values, together with universal human values, help to enrich the curriculum and programme.

MOVING FORWARD

As editors, with respect to and substantiated by the contributors' ideas, acknowledge that, as humanity, we have not yet identified the unlocking key to the most worthy of all human endeavours – peaceful human security for African women, children and men. Certainly, we are on the path toward innovative approaches; but we have not reached our final point. The way forward demands a new and multi-dimensional vision for society – a vision that underscores the need to look consistently at the broader context of systematic issues to achieve effective individual and personal level changes into changes at the socio-political level and improved group-level relationships. The resourcefulness in directions that make-a-difference thus embeds in systematic thinking and practice, undergirded by

theory-to-practice-to-theory actions, to leverage peaceful cultures of social, economic and political justice (i.e. transformation and transcendence of cultural violence); and exploring ways to create more just and sustainable futures (rejecting violence, inspiring social justice and interdependence).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Agenda 2063 is a policy development initiative of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union (AU), led by the AU Commission; it works closely with the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Coordinating Agency (NPCA), and is supported by the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Agenda 2063 represents a collective effort and an opportunity for Africa to regain its power to determine its own destiny, and is underpinned by the AU vision to build '... an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, an Africa driven and managed by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena'. It is a call for action and a strategic framework and roadmap to achieve continental developmental goals, including:
 - A prosperous Africa, based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
 - An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideal pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance;
 - An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
 - A peaceful and secure Africa;
 - An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics;
 - An Africa where development is people-driven, unleashing the potential of women and youth;
 - Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner.
 See African Union, 2015. Agenda 2063. www.agenda2063.au.int [Accessed 6 March 2015].
- 2 Hooks, B., 2000. *Feminism is for everybody*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press. p.19
- 3 Woodrow, P and Chigas, D., 2011. 'Connecting the dots: Evaluating whether and how programmes address conflict systems', in Korppen, D., Giessman, H. and Ropers, N. (eds.), 2011. *The non-linearity of peace processes: Theory and practice of systemic conflict* Kahlert, H. and Schafer, S. (eds.) 2011. *Engendering Transformation*. Berlin: Verlag Barbara Burdich. pp.205–228; Maphosa, S.

- B., 2010. Analysing programme strategies using the reflective peace practice matrix and the seven functions of civil society in peace building: Reflections on a case study from Burundi. *Gandhi Marg Journal*, 31(4), pp.711–736.
- 4 Woodrow, P and Chigas, D., 2011.
 - 5 Notionally, unlike ‘negative peace’ – which focuses on the absence of overt violence, the prevention of hostile conflict and violence, and the ability to resolve conflict peacefully – the concept of ‘positive peace’ emphasises building peaceful cultures that encourage social, economic and political justice and exploring ways to create more just and sustainable futures. Refer Galtung, J., 1990. Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), pp.291–305; Reardon, B. A., 2000. ‘Peace education: A review and projection’, reprinted from, Moon, B., Brown S. and Peretz, M. B. (eds.), 2000. *International Companion to Education*. New York: Routledge.
 - 6 See <http://implementation.fpg.unc.edu/module-2/implementation-drivers> [Accessed 12 April 2015].
 - 7 Karbo, T., 2014. ‘Capacity-building for sustainable peace-building in Africa’, in Maphosa, S. B., DeLuca, L. and Keasley, A. (eds.), 2014. *Building peace from within: An examination of community-based peacebuilding and transitions in Africa*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa. p.17.
 - 8 CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2004. Reflecting on Peace Practice Project. Cambridge, MA: Collaborative Learning Projects, www.cdainc.com; CDA, 2009. Reflecting on Peace Practice: Advanced training of consultants and advisers resource manual. Cambridge, MA: Collaborative Learning Projects, www.cdainc.com.
 - 9 Ibid.
 - 10 Ibid.
 - 11 Reardon, B. A., 2000.
 - 12 UNICEF, 1999. *Peace education in UNICEF*. New York: UNICEF.
 - 13 Navarro-Castro, L. and Nario-Galace, J., 2010. *Peace education: A pathway to a culture of peace*. Quezon City, Philippines: Center for Peace Education, Miriam College.
 - 14 Ibid.

Peace Education for Violence Prevention in Fragile African Societies What's Going to Make a Difference?

Though conflicts among (African) nations diminished at the end of the last millennium, the need for peace remains a perennial concern for African citizens within their communities and countries. Once again, Maphosa and Kasley have engaged a collection of scholar-practitioners to address the query 'What's Going to Make a Difference in contemporary Peace Education around Africa?' The contributing authors draw from daily headlines as well as African literature to unearth twenty-first century quandaries with which educators in formal and informal contexts are called upon to grapple. The 'What's Going to Make a Difference' authors offer insights to educators, peace education practitioners and parents for everyday living. The authors probe the wisdom of the recent and ancient past and bring forth pearls for contemporary moments. All in discerning effort to respond to the guiding question, the editors and their contributing colleagues deliver a compelling set of revelations for Making a Difference in Peace Education for African and world citizens.

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